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TRAVELS

IN

POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN,

AND

DENMARK;

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.

BY

WILLIAM COXE, A. M. F. R. S. F. A. S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

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TRAVELS

IN

RUSSIA.

BOOK III.

CHAP. 7.

History and adventures of the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius.—Seats himself on the throne.—His character.—And assassination.—Probably the real Demetrius.

AMONG the tombs in the cathedral of St. Michael I had occasion to mention that of a child, called by the Russians Dmitri, or Demetrius, whose intricate and controverted history was reserved for a separate narrative.

Ivan * Vassilievitch II. left two sons; Feodor, who succeeded to the throne, and Demetrius, an infant,

* I had finished this chapter before the publication of L'Evesque's Histoire de Russie. That ingenious author has, in his account of the person who styled himself Demetrius, advanced many plausible arguments to shew, that he was probably not an impostor; and though

infant, who was educated at Uglitz under the care of his mother the tzarina Maria Feodorofna, and in the eighth year of his age was ſaid to have been aſſaſſinated by order of Boris Godunof *. The real circumſtances of this aſſaſſination, being purpoſely with-held from the public, are variouſly

they appear to me unanſwerable, and it is eaſy to perceive that he entirely leans to that opinion, yet he candidly concludes with aſſerting, "Pluſieurs objections que j'ai hazardées contre l'impoſture d'Otrépief me paraiſſent d'une grande force, je n'oſerai cependant décider la queſtion." See Hiſ. de Ruſſ. v. III. p. 226 to 236. It may ſerve, perhaps, as an additional proof in favour of Demetrius, that two foreigners, who viſited Ruſſia, both unbiaſſed by national prejudices, and without the leaſt communication, ſhould hold nearly the ſame opinion upon ſo intricate a ſubject.

* Muller relates from a Ruſſian manuſcript, that twelve perſons were privy to the murder, amongſt whom were the prince's nurſe and her ſon, who perpetrated the deed; that it was committed at mid-day in the court-yard of the palace, and that a bell-ringer, who was upon the top of an adjoining cathedral, ſaw the whole tranſaction. Petreius aſſerts, that the prince was murdered during the confuſion of a fire, purpoſely occaſioned by one of the aſſaſſins. Margaret and Grevenbuck ſay that the aſſaſſin was ſon of the tzarina Maria's ſecretary; and it is generally affirmed, that it happened at midnight.—The Ruſſian authors naturally prefer the firſt account, becauſe it was more difficult at mid-day to ſubſtitute a child. There is no reaſon to be ſurpriſed at theſe contradictory opinions, when it is conſidered, as L'Eveſque juſtly obſerves, "que Boris ſupprima "tous les détails de cet horrible affaire; qu'il trompa le tzar et le "public. Le public fut donc alors mal inſtruit des circonſtances "de cet événement, et le temps n'a pu y ajoûter que de nouvelles "obſcurités. D'ailleurs, comme le dit Margaret, on obſervait en "Ruſſie un ſecret ſi profond ſur toutes les affaires, qu'il etait fort "difficile d'apprendre la vérité de ce qu'on n'avait pas vu de ſes "yeux." V. III. p. 228.

related:

related: and the following particulars are alone unqueſtionable. A body, ſuppoſed to be that of the young prince, was found weltering in its blood; and certain perſons, conſidered as the aſſaſſins, were inſtantly put to death by the inhabitants of Uglitz. The account of the cataſtrophe being tranſmitted to Moſcow, Boris Godunof, after circulating a report that Demetrius had, in a fit of phrenzy, put a period to his own life, diſpatched his creatures Vaſſili Shuiſki and Cletchnin to inquire into the circumſtances of his death. Having examined the body of the deceaſed, they declared it to be that of Demetrius, and confirmed the report. Maria Feodorofna, accuſed of groſs inattention to her ſon's ſecurity, was compelled to aſſume the veil, and confined in a convent; many inhabitants of Uglitz, who ſpoke freely concerning the murder, were capitally puniſhed; ſome were impriſoned, and others baniſhed.

Boris Godunof managed this horrid tranſaction with ſuch art and ſecrecy, that ſcarcely any ſuſpicions were entertained againſt him, until thirteen years afterwards a perſon made his appearance under the name of Demetrius: he declared that his mother, ſuſpicious of the attempts againſt her ſon's life, had removed him from Uglitz, and ſubſtituted another child, who was aſſaſſinated in his place; and that, being educated in a convent, and concealed from the knowledge of his

perſecutors, he had eſcaped from Ruſſia into Poland. Being there admitted into the ſervice of Wieſnovitſki, a Pole of great diſtinction, he diſcovered himſelf to that nobleman, who warmly eſpouſed his cauſe. Boris Godunof, having received intelligence of this unexpected claimant, diſſeminated a report, that the impoſtor, who aſſumed the name of Demetrius, was a monk ſtyled Gregory or Griſka Otrepief; and ſpared neither threats nor bribes to obtain poſſeſſion of his perſon. When theſe expedients failed of ſucceſs, he diſpatched his emiſſaries into Poland to aſſaſſinate him.

Wieſnovitſki, alarmed for the ſafety of his fugitive, recommended him to the protection of the ſenator George Mniſhek palatine of Sendomir; a nobleman of great conſequence in Poland. Demetrius (if I may be allowed to call him by that name) being acknowleded by him the rightful heir of the Ruſſian throne, was ſoon afterwards betrothed in marriage to the palatine's daughter Marina, and, in the beginning of 1603 was introduced to Sigiſmond III. king of Poland. Being admitted to a public audience before the diet, he excited the compaſſion of the aſſembly by the affecting manner in which he related his adventures; and though Sigiſmond and the diet regretted, that the ſituation of their country prevented them from openly ſeconding his pretenſions;

ſions; yet they teſtified the moſt cordial attachment to his intereſts, and laid no prohibition on thoſe nobles who might be diſpoſed to engage in his ſupport. By the aſſiſtance of his two patrons, Wieſnovitſki and the palatine of Sendomir, Demetrius entered Ruſſia in the month of Auguſt, 1604, at the head of 4000 Poles; and being ſoon joined by many Ruſſians, particularly by the Coſſacs of the Don, advanced almoſt without oppoſition to Novogorod Severſkoi, and routed in December an army of 40,000 men; but was not long afterwards defeated, with great ſlaughter, by prince Vaſſili Shuiſki general of Boris Godunof. Eight thouſand of his followers were either killed or taken priſoners; and all his artillery and colours fell into the hands of the enemy; his horſe was wounded under him, and he himſelf eſcaped with difficulty.

This overthrow occaſioned the defection of the Poliſh troops; and Demetrius himſelf, diſmayed with his loſs, would have retreated precipitately into Poland, had he not been diſſuaded by the importunities of his Ruſſian adherents; many of whom believed him to be the true Demetrius, and all dreaded the vengeance of Boris Godunof. Overcome by their entreaties he continued his march; and, notwithſtanding his late diſcomfiture, was ſoon at the head of a numerous army of Ruſſians, who flocked to his ſtandard from all

quarters. Not only the populace, ever prone to credulity; but even men of the higheſt birth and quality, gave credit to his pretenſions: not only the diſtant provinces ſupported his cauſe; but the people roſe even at Moſcow, and publicly proclaimed that Demetrius had eſcaped from his aſſaſſins, and claimed allegiance as their rightful ſovereign. This inſurrection was immediately quelled; but although Boris Godunof inflicted the ſevereſt puniſhment upon his adherents, though the patriarch publiſhed a ban of excommunication againſt him and his party, and though Vaſſili Shuiſki affirmed that he had himſelf examined the body of the deceaſed prince at Uglitz; yet an univerſal belief ſpread through all ranks, that the pretender to the throne was the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.

The ſudden death of Boris Godunof enſured the ſucceſs of Demetrius. Feodor Boriſovitch, declared ſucceſſor to his father by the patriarch and nobles who were preſent at Moſcow, was deſerted by the principal generals of the Ruſſian army, and by many perſons of diſtinction. His troops at this inauſpicious juncture were ſuddenly attacked and defeated; and thoſe who eſcaped were perſuaded to ſwear fealty to his rival, who, ſtrengthened by this acceſſion, advanced by haſty marches towards the capital without the leaſt oppoſition: the highways were lined with people;

the towns opened their gates with every demonſtration of joy, while Demetrius ſupported the prepoſſeſſion of the Ruſſians in favour of his birth by the affability of his demeanour, and the gracefulneſs of his perſon. Having publiſhed a manifeſto to the inhabitants of Moſcow, with offers of clemency and favour on their return to their duty, they roſe in arms, ſtormed the palace, ſtrangled Feodor Boriſovitch, and recognized the title of Demetrius. On the 30th of June the new tzar entered Moſcow in triumph, and took poſſeſſion of the throne with univerſal approbation. His pretenſions to the crown, as real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch, were confirmed by the public teſtimony of Maria Feodorofna, whom Boris Godunof had impriſoned in a diſtant monaſtery, and whom Demetrius, at his acceſſion, releaſed from her confinement. Upon her approach to Moſcow, on the 8th of July, he rode to meet her at the head of a numerous proceſſion, and at the firſt appearance of her carriage, alighted from his horſe, and ran to embrace her. The tenderneſs and affection which both parties diſplayed on this intereſting occaſion drew tears from the ſpectators; and the ſtrong expreſſions of tranſport with which the tzarina openly acknowledged him for her ſon, ſeemed to confirm the reality of his imperial lineage. Soon after this interview he was crowned with the uſual pomp, and ſeemed firmly ſeated upon the throne, in the poſſeſſion of which he

would probably have maintained himſelf by a conformity to the manners of his ſubjects, and by a prudent deference to their civil and religious eſtabliſhment. But his avowed contempt of the Ruſſian cuſtoms, and his public neglect of their religious ceremonies, ſoon alienated the affections of his ſubjects, and precipitated him from the throne as rapidly as he had aſcended it.

Margaret, who had frequent acceſs to the perſon of Demetrius, has ſketched his portrait in a ſhort but lively manner.

"He had no beard, was of a middle ſtature, and of dark complexion, his limbs were ſtrong and nervous, and he had a wart under his right eye. He was active, ſpirited, and merciful, ſoon offended, and as ſoon appeaſed; liberal, ambitious, and deſirous of making himſelf known to poſterity; in a word, he was a prince who loved honour, and recommended it by his own example *."

If we ſhould allow that Margaret has concealed many of his defects, and placed his virtues in the moſt advantageous light, yet the acrimony and injuſtice which appear in many parts of the following extracts from his character, as drawn even by Muller, the moſt candid of his opponents, will prevent impartial perſons from giving implicit credit to the repreſentations of his enemies.

"The falſe † Demetrius was of a middle ſize, dark complexion, and had one arm ſhorter than the other. He would have been eſteemed not deficient in wiſdom, had he not been ſo precipitate in

* Margaret, p. 141.

† S. R. G. vol. V. p. 302, &c.

his

his conduct, and had he conformed his behaviour to the diſpoſition and temper of his ſubjects. In Poland he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of languages, arts, and ſciences; he converſed in Latin * and Poliſh with fluency; he was well aequainted with hiſtory, and particularly with that of Ruſſia and the neighbouring kingdoms; he was well verſed in muſic, and poſſeſſed other liberal accompliſhments. On account of his addreſs and good fortune in obtaining the crown, he was eſteemed a magician. Warlike exerciſe and hunting were his principal amuſements. He had ſome knowledge of engineering and artillery, was fond of caſting cannon, and ſhot with ſuch ſkill as to ſurprize the moſt dexterous markſmen. He was zealous to improve the diſcipline of his army, for which purpoſe he would often review his troops, inſtruct them in different manœuvres, form ramparts and fortifications; and as he was always foremoſt, and the moſt eager among the aſſailants, was often rudely handled in the fray.

" Deſirous to be eſteemed a patron of juſtice, he put to death ſeveral judges who were convicted of iniquitous practices. But was not this mode of proceeding rather a proof of his inclination to cruelty? and might it not ariſe from a deſire of ſtriking terror into his ſubjects †?

' His munificence, for which he has been extolled, was both extravagant and ill-placed; he heaped bounties upon Poliſh muſicians and other minions, and drained the treaſury by enormous expences ‡.

Like

* His underſtanding Latin has been urged againſt him as a proof that he was educated by the Jeſuits. Margaret, however, poſitively aſſerts, that he was not in the leaſt acquainted with that language. Il eſt très certain qu'il ne parloit nullement Latin, j'en puis temoigner, moins le ſcavoit il lire et ecrire. Ibid. p. 163.

† A ſuppoſition which ſhews a ſtrong diſpoſition in the oppoſite party to miſrepreſent the moſt favourable parts of his conduct.

‡ The accounts of his extravagance were groſsly exaggerated. He is ſaid to have given orders for a throne of maſſy ſilver, ſupported by ſix lions of the ſame coſtly materials; and for a footſtool of pure gold, for the ceremony of his coronation, ſtudded with 600 diamonds,

Like all voluptuaries he was fickle and impetuous. All his actions proved an extraordinary proneneſs to prefer his own precipitate reſolutions to the moſt prudent advice, and to adopt the raſheſt meaſures. His ſudden elevation rendered him inſolent; he was ſo ambitious, that even the Ruſſian empire appeared too ſmall to ſatisfy his luſt of dominion, and he extended his views to the reduction of Turkey and Tartary. His ebriety and incontinence were his moſt notorious vices, which frequently expoſed him in the eyes of the public. Beſide the princeſs Irene, the daughter of Boris Godunof, all who pleaſed him were ſacrificed to his deſires, without the leaſt regard to rank or age *.

On his acceſſion to the throne he was eaſy of acceſs, but gradually became ſuſpicious of his ſubjects; he had a foreign guard, and often refuſed audience to the Ruſſian nobility, when he admitted the Poles without reſerve. He ſeemed to ſummon the privy-counſellors only for the purpoſe of turning them to ridicule. If a Ruſſian lodged a complaint againſt a Pole, he could never obtain juſtice, and inſult was added to injury. Probably this inſolence was the chief cauſe of his ſubſequent misfortunes; and his fall would at leaſt have been retarded, had he endeavoured to conciliate the affection of the principal nobles. But the circumſtance which principally contributed to his loſs of popularity, was the little reverence which he profeſſed for the ceremonies of the Greek church. On his arrival at Moſcow he entered the two cathedrals with drums beating and trumpets ſounding; he paid no reſpect

diamonds, 600 rubies, 600 ſapphires, 600 emeralds, 600 Turkiſh ſtones; all of a large ſize, but ſome of the latter were as big as half a pigeon's egg. It muſt be remarked, that this footſtool was already in the treaſury when Demetrius aſcended the throne; and was a preſent from the Sophy of Perſia to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 335. Many ſimilar ornaments employed at his coronation had been uſed by the former ſovereigns, who were crowned with Aſiatic magnificence.

* Theſe parts of his conduct were alſo greatly miſrepreſented. L'Eveſque aſſerts, with great appearance of probability, that theſe reports of his incontinence were not founded in truth; and particularly denies that the princeſs Irene was ſacrificed to his deſires. Vol. III. p. 202.

reſpect to the clergy; he made no diſtinction between faſts and feſtivals, would neither bow nor croſs himſelf before the ſacred paintings; he profaned the church by admitting foreigners at the time of divine ſervice, and ſtill more by the number of dogs which followed him upon the ſame occaſion.

"He was not only ſo much attached to the Poliſh cuſtoms and dreſs as to prefer them upon all occaſions; but he even ridiculed the Ruſſian manners, and in every inſtance deviated from the examples of the tzars his predeceſſors. Inſtead of ſhowing himſelf to the people ſeldom, and only upon extraordinary occaſions with a large retinue, he was accuſtomed to traverſe the ſtreets with a few ſervants; he commonly rode, and, as he was an excellent horſeman, was generally mounted upon the moſt fiery ſteeds; he hunted frequently, had muſic at his repaſts, never ſlept at mid-day, never bathed. Theſe trifling circumſtances were regarded in ſo ſerious a light, that the omiſſion of them rendered him the object of general hatred; and it was commonly reported, that the perſon who could ſhow ſuch a diſtaſte for the cuſtoms of his country, could never be deſcended from the race of ancient ſovereigns. It was an obvious inference, to conſider the deſpiſer of his ſubjects as their enemy. Under ſuch circumſtances his deſtruction ſeemed inevitable *; and yet near a year elapſed before any tumult broke out. At

* Muller relates an account of a match with ſnow-balls between the Ruſſian ſoldiers and Poles; when the latter, at the command of Demetrius, filled the ſnow-balls with ſand and ſtones, by which the Ruſſians (blaue Augen und blutige Koepfe bekamen) received many black eyes and bloody heads. Such abſurd accuſations do not merit ſerious refutation. Many idle tales are alſo gravely related againſt him; and indeed every circumſtance of his conduct was malevolently interpreted. Among the public diverſions which he gave in honour of his marriage was a fire-work, in which a dragon was repreſented with three heads ſpitting out flames. Such a ſpectacle, being uncommon in the country, affrighted the Ruſſians; and it was reported, that the tzar had contrived it on purpoſe to alarm his ſubjects. The Poles were not wanting upon this and all other occaſions to ridicule the ignorance and ſimplicity of the Ruſſians, which increaſed the hatred againſt them and the ſovereign who protected

At length his marriage with a foreign lady cloſed the ſcene; and it would have been a wonder if he had continued any longer upon the throne."

Having in Poland betrothed himſelf to Marina, the daughter of the palatine Mniſchek, he diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy to demand her in marriage. The eſpouſals were performed at Cracow; and the bride, having made her entry into Moſcow, accompanied with a large ſuite of Poles, was lodged in a nunnery until the ſolemnization of the nuptials: during this interval he diſturbed the devotion of the holy ſiſterhood with repeated feaſts, concerts, and balls, whereby he excited public horror, as a violator of religious diſcipline. By this infatuated behaviour he inflamed the diſaffection of his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that a regular conſpiracy was concerted againſt him. The leader was prince Vaſſili Ivan-

protected them. A wooden tower was alſo conſtructed near the city, which, upon a certain day, was to be attacked with a cannonade and ſtormed. After the aſſaſſination of Demetrius, Vaſſili Shuiſki publicly aſſerted in a manifeſto, that Demetrius intended to take the opportunity, which the ſtorming of this tower preſented, of maſſacring many inhabitants of Moſcow. The gates of the city were to be ſuddenly ſhut, the cannon to be fired among the people, and thoſe who eſcaped to be hewn in pieces by the Coſſacs and Strelitz, and the Ruſſian nobles to be murdered by the Poliſh troops. This account, ſo improbable in itſelf, is only ſupported by the ſuppoſed confeſſion of two Poliſh nobles, to whom Demetrius is ſaid to have revealed it a day or two before his aſſaſſination; but we may more juſtly believe it to have been a calumny, invented by Vaſſili Shuiſki, to render the memory of his rival more odious. See S. R. G. vol. V. 342—346.

ovitch

ovitch Shuiſki, the ſame perſon who had owed his life to the lenity of Demetrius, and on whom this act of clemency had no other effect than to render him more cautious in his ſubſequent machinations againſt his benefactor. Demetrius frequently received intimations from different quarters of a projected inſurrection; the popular odium betrayed itſelf by the moſt alarming ſymptoms; perſons were heard exclaiming in the ſtreets, "The tzar is an heretick worſe than "a Turk, and not the ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch." But, either from natural magnanimity that braved all danger, or from the inconſiderate levity of his character, he was inſenſible to all theſe prognoſtics; and by obſtinately perſevering in his unpopular conduct, ſeemed almoſt to invite deſtruction.

The inſurrection broke out early in the morning on the 17th of May. The conſpirators ſecured the principal avenues of the city; the great bell in the Kremlin, the common ſignal of alarm, was tolled; and a confuſed cry was ſpread among the people, that the Poles were preparing to maſſacre the inhabitants. Vaſſili Shuiſki, who ſecretly inflamed the public diſcontents, led the way to the palace, bearing a croſs in one hand, and a ſabre in the other, accompanied by a vaſt multitude armed with the firſt weapons which chance preſented. This party, having overpowered

ered the guards, burſt open the gates of the palace, and ruſhed towards the royal apartment. Demetrius, awakened by the tumult, ſummoned the few guards who were immediately about his perſon, and ſallying, without a moment's deliberation, againſt his aſſailants, hewed down ſeveral of the foremoſt: being ſoon overborn by numbers, he attempted to retreat into the interior part of the palace; but, cloſely preſſed by his purſuers, precipitated himſelf from a window into a court, and diſlocated his thigh with the fall.

Being diſcovered in this deplorable condition, he was re-conveyed to the palace, and brought before Vaſſili Shuiſki, who loaded him with reproaches for his impoſture. Not diſmayed, however, with the menaces of his enemy, he perſiſted * in maintaining himſelf to be the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievich II. and appealed to the teſtimony of his mother, who reſided in a neighbouring convent. The firmneſs and conſiſtency of his aſſeverations made a conſiderable impreſſion upon many of the Ruſſian ſoldiers, who peremptorily declared, that they would protect him from all injury, unleſs Maria Feodorofna formally renounced him as her

* Mr. Muller ſays, all the Ruſſian writers declare, that he confeſſed his impoſture; but it is certain that he did not; otherwiſe, why did Vaſſili Shuiſki repair to the convent to obtain the tzarina's declaration, when his own confeſſion would have been fully ſufficient.

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ſon. On this unexpected declaration, Vaſſili Shuiſki, accompanied by ſome Ruſſian nobles of his party, repaired to the convent, and returned inſtantly with the following anſwer from the princeſs; "The real Demetrius was ſlain at Uglitz; the perſon who at preſent aſſumes his name is an impoſtor; and I was conſtrained by menaces to acknowledge him for my ſon." On the delivery of this meſſage, the unhappy monarch was inſtantly ſacrificed to the fury of his enemies. Neither was their vengeance appeaſed by his death, but extended even to his inanimate body; it was pierced with repeated wounds, ſtripped and expoſed for three days to the inſults of the populace; it was then depoſited in the public charnel-houſe, and afterwards * reduced to aſhes, from a notion that the earth would be polluted by the interment of ſo unholy a corpſe.

The aſſaſſination of Demetrius was followed by a general tumult; the houſes of foreigners were pillaged; and not only the Poles, who fell into the

* It ſeems, by other accounts, that the body was firſt buried without the city; and that the multitude flocked in crowds to the place. "The common people believed that muſic was heard in the night, and that ſpectres were ſeen hovering about the place where he was buried. For theſe reaſons the body was dug up, and ſhot from the mouth of a cannon." Schmidt R. G. vol. I. p. 362. The author of the Ruſſian Impoſtor alſo writes, "The people dug up his poor carcaſe out of an obſcure grave, and after a repetition of barbarities upon him, they burnt the body, and ſcattered the aſhes in the air." p. 125.

hands

hands of the people, but even many Ruſſians who wore the Poliſh dreſs, were maſſacred. Though this ſtate of anarchy laſted only ten hours, yet more than two thouſand perſons loſt their lives. The dreadful ſcene was finally cloſed by the election of Vaſſili Ivanovitch Shuiſki to the throne of Ruſſia. Manifeſtos * were immediately publiſhed, in which the new tzar juſtified his conduct, and detailed the hiſtory and fortunes of his predeceſſor, whom he pronounced an adventurer, whoſe real name was Griſka Otrepief. He aſcribes to him an intention of extirpating the principal Ruſſian nobility, and of introducing the Roman catholic religion into Ruſſia; accuſes him of holding a correſpondence with the pope for that purpoſe; inſinuates that he had even promiſed to cede the provinces of Smolenſko and Severia to the king of Poland; repreſents him as an heretic and a ſorcerer; diſplays, in the moſt odious colours, his averſion to the manners and cuſtoms of the Ruſſians, his attachment to foreigners, and expatiates with much art upon every part of his character which was moſt likely to excite the public abhorrence. A few days afterwards a manifeſto appeared in the name of the tzarina Maria Feodorofna, in which ſhe apologizes for having owned the impoſtor for her ſon, and again ac-

† Mr. Muller found theſe manifeſtos in the archives of Tſherdin. S. R. G. 347. 364. 366.

knowledges

knowledges that the real Demetrius was aſſaſſinated at Uglitz; that the impoſtor, at their interview near Moſcow, firſt accoſted her alone*, and threatened her and her family with the moſt cruel torments, if ſhe refuſed to recognize him as her offspring.

All theſe allegations, however, thus urged againſt the pretenſions of Demetrius, could not efface the prepoſſeſſions entertained by the generality of the Ruſſians in favour of his imperial deſcent. A freſh inſurrection was hourly expected, and ſome tranſient tumults took place, in which Vaſſili Shuiſki narrowly eſcaped deſtruction. In this critical ſtate of affairs he had recourſe to an expedient, for the purpoſe of appeaſing the public ſuſpicions. A rumour being ſpread, that the body of the young prince, formerly murdered at Uglitz, had performed miracles, a deputation of ſeveral biſhops and nobles was diſpatched to take up the hallowed corpſe from the ſepulchre, and to tranſport it to Moſcow.

" Upon opening the tomb," relates Muller from the Ruſſian archives, " an agreeable odour filled the whole church: the body was uncorrupted, and the very clothes entire; one of his hands graſped ſome nuts that were ſprinkled with blood, and which the young prince

* Habe mit irh geredet ohne daſs jemand von den Boiaren, oder andern Leuten, dabey ſeyn doerfen. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 367. Margaret, on the contrary, who was probably preſent at this interview, ſays expreſsly, " aprés conferences d'un quart d'heur, *en preſence de tous les nobles et de ceux de la ville*, &c. p. 125.

prince had been eating at the inſtant of his aſſaſſination. His relics were carried in great ſtate to Moſcow: on their approach to the city they were met by Vaſſili Shuiſki, the widow of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. and a large concourſe of people, and depoſited with much ſolemnity in the cathedral of St. Michael. During the proceſſion, many troubled with various diſorders were miracalouſly reſtored to health: after the body was placed in the cathedral, thirteen ſick perſons declared themſelves relieved of their complaints by the interpoſition of the ſaint, and the ſame number were healed on the enſuing day*."

Let us contraſt this account with the relation of the oppoſite party.

"On the 4th of June a diſpute concerning Demetrius aroſe between the Strelitz and the people, who aſſerted that he was not an impoſtor. The tzar and the boyars cry out, The people ſhall have ocular demonſtration, that the true Demetrius was killed at Uglitz; his body is now removing to Moſcow, and has performed many ſtupendous miracles. The boyars procured a poor man's child, about thirteen years of age, cut its throat, and having committed it for a few days to the ground, conveyed it to Moſcow, ſhowed it to the people, and declared that this was the true Demetrius, whoſe body, although long interred, was ſtill uncorrupted, which the fooliſh multitude believed, and were appeaſed†."

The reader will judge which of theſe two accounts is moſt likely to be true.

With reſpect to myſelf, I ſhall only add, that having endeavoured to examine the hiſtory of the tzar Demetrius without prejudice or partiality, I am ſtrongly inclined to believe that he was not

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 371.

† Payerne in Schmidt Ruſſ. Geſſ. vol. I. p. 364.

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an impoſtor, but the real perſonage whoſe name he aſſumed*.

* For the hiſtory of Demetrius, ſee Petreius Moſcov. Chron. Margaret's Eſtat. de la Ruſſie, p. 18 and 19.—111—175. Payerne in Schmidt. Ruſſ. Geſ. vol. II. and particularly Muller's S. R. G. vol. V. p. 181 to 380. That ingenious author has drawn together, in one point of view, the principal events of this troubleſome æra, and has reconciled, as much as poſſible, the contradictory accounts of the different writers: and though he has adopted the Ruſſian prejudices, yet he has given the arguments of the oppoſite party with as much candour as could be expected from an author who wrote in Ruſſia.

Since the publication of this chapter, the death of Muller allows me to declare, (what delicacy at that time prevented me from aſſerting) his full conviction, that the tzar was the real Demetrius. "As his impoſture," he ſaid; "is an article of faith, I could not venture to publiſh my real opinion in this country. But in peruſing my account with attention, you will perceive that the arguments which I have advanced in favour of the impoſture are weak and inconcluſive." He added, ſmiling, "If you write on the ſubject, refute me with freedom; but do not mention my confeſſion during my life-time." He then related a converſation with the empreſs on this ſubject, when ſhe was at Moſcow. "I am informed," ſhe ſaid, "that you doubt whether Griſka was an impoſtor; tell me freely what is your opinion?" Muller reſpectfully evaded the queſtion; but being ſtill further preſſed, replied, "Your Majeſty is well acquainted that the body of the true Demetrius is depoſited in the cathedral of St. Michael; that he is adored as a ſaint, and his relics perform miracles. What will become of theſe relics, ſhould Griſka be proved to be the real Demetrius?"—"True," returned the empreſs, ſmiling, "but let me know what would be your opinion if theſe relics did not exiſt?" Muller, however, ſtill prudently declined giving a direct anſwer, and the empreſs urged him no farther.

This confeſſion of Mr. Muller, who was the moſt able advocate of the opinion, that the tzar was an impoſtor, might perhaps render it unneceſſary to reprint the remaining part of the chapter, which was principally employed in refuting his arguments; but for the ſatisfaction of the reader, who may wiſh to ſee the ſtatements on both ſides of the queſtion, it is inſerted in the Appendix.

CHAP. 8.

Of the princeſs Sophia Alexiefna.—Miſrepreſentation of her character.—Juſtification of her conduct.—Her fall and impriſonment.—Unjuſtly accuſed of attempting to aſſaſſinate Peter.—She aſſumes the veil.—Her death.

SCARCELY any portion in the annals of this country is more important than the minority of Peter the Great; and no character more groſsly miſrepreſented than that of his ſiſter Sophia Alexiefna, who governed Ruſſia during that period. This illuſtrious princeſs united many perſonal and mental accompliſhments; but as ſhe headed a party in oppoſition to Peter, the idolatry univerſally paid to him has contributed to diminiſh the luſtre of her adminiſtration.

I was led into theſe reflections from a viſit which I paid to the Devitchéi nunnery in the ſuburbs of Moſcow, where Sophia was confined during the laſt ſeventeen years of her life; and as we have ſcarcely any knowledge of her character but through the medium of her adverſaries, I ſhall throw together a few particulars, which induce me to judge favourably of her conduct*.

Sophia

* Three foreign writers have principally contributed to render the character of Sophia extremely odious.

1. The firſt is Gordon, in his "*Life of Peter the Great.*" But his teſtimony is extremely exceptionable, as well on account of his partiality

Sophia was born in October, 1658. Her father, Alexèy Michaelovitch, was twice married; by

tiality to Peter, as becauſe he was prejudiced againſt prince Vaſſili Galitzin, Sophia's prime miniſter, for having degraded his relation and patron general Patrick Gordon. See Korb Diarium, p. 216.

2. The ſecond author is La Neuville, in his "*Relation de la Moſcovie*," who dignifies himſelf with the title of envoy from the king of Poland to the court of Moſcow, and is generally ſuppoſed to have been reſident in that city at the time of Sophia's fall. His authority, therefore, is deemed unqueſtionable, and the enemies of this princeſs have not failed to cite it in proof of their accuſations. Any perſon, however, in the leaſt converſant with the hiſtory of Ruſſia, will perceive in this work the groſſeſt contradictions, and the moſt abſurd tales. The author, after loading the character of Sophia with more deceit and cruelty than ever diſgraced a Tiberius, or a Cæſar Borgia, affects the moſt perfect knowledge of the ſecret cabals between her and prince Galitzin: he aſſerts their intention of marrying, of re-uniting the Greek and Latin churches, of compelling Peter to aſſume the monaſtic habit, or, if that failed, of aſſaſſinating him, of declaring the children of Ivan illegitimate, and of ſecuring the throne to themſelves and their heirs. And as if this chimerical project was ſure of ſucceſs, he adds, prince Galitzin had ſtill further views: he hoped, by re-uniting Ruſſia to the Roman catholic church, to obtain the pope's permiſſion (if he ſhould ſurvive Sophia) to appoint his ſon ſucceſſor to the throne, in preference to thoſe whom he ſhould have by the princeſs, while his wife was alive. But ſuch abſurd accounts carry their own refutation, and the writer who retails them muſt ſurely deſerve no credit, even ſhould he be "le temoin oculaire," as Voltaire ſtyles him, "de ce qui ſe paſſa." But the truth is, this envoy to Moſcow is a ſuppoſititious perſon: the author was Adrien Baillet, who ſtyled himſelf de la Neuville, from a village of that name, in which he was born, and was never in Ruſſia. The "*Relation de la Moſcovie*" was publiſhed at the Hague in 1699; and was probably compiled by the author from the vague accounts of ſome of Peter's adherents, who in 1697 accompanied that Monarch into Holland.

by his firſt wife Maria Ilinitchna, of the family of Milolaſſki, he had Feodor, Ivan, and ſeveral princeſſes; among whom was Sophia; and Peter the Great by his ſecond wife Natalia Kirilofna, of the family of Nariſkin. During Maria's life, her family enjoyed conſiderable influence; but after her deceaſe, and upon Alexèy's marriage with Natalia, their power was eclipſed by the ſuperior aſcendancy of the Nariſkins. Hence two parties were formed in the court, and perpetual quarrels took place between the children of Alexèy by his firſt wife, and their ſtep-mother

In Menkeni Bibliotheca, La "Relation de la Moſcovie" is mentioned among the works of Adrien Baillet, for an account of whom, ſee Niceron, "Hommes Illuſtres;" article Ad. Baillet.

3. Voltaire has contributed more than any other writer to ſpread reports injurious to Sophia; but the truth of his narrative of her riſe, adminiſtration, and fall, is liable to the ſtrongeſt objections: he draws many facts, urged againſt Sophia, from the work of the ſuppoſed Poliſh envoy, La Neuville, which has been ſhown to be of no authority, and extracts the remainder almoſt ſolely from certain memoirs, which were tranſmitted to him by order of the empreſs Elizabeth, Peter's daughter.

But the violent prepoſſeſſions conceived againſt the memory of this unfortunate princeſs begin to ſubſide. Muller has ventured to juſtify her character in ſome inſtances; the author of the "Antidote to the Abbé de Chappe's Journey into Siberia," ſpeaks of her in a favourable manner; and L'Eveſque has evidently ſhewn, that her character has been groſsly miſrepreſented. I had already finiſhed this chapter, as well as the laſt, before his hiſtory made its appearance, and though the arguments of that judicious hiſtorian had no ſhare in forming, they certainly confirmed my opinion in favour of Sophia.

Natalia. During this period, Ivan Michaelovitch Milolaſſki, the head of that family, endeavoured ſecretly to undermine the Nariſkins: he attributed to their influence the increaſe of the taxes, and the delay in paying the troops, and reproached them as the authors of all the grievances which were urged againſt the government of Alexèy. By theſe and other artifices he laboured to render them unpopular; and having gained a large body of Strelitz *, waited for a favourable opportunity to execute his deſigns †. On the acceſſion of Feodor, his relations, the family of Milolaſſki, re-aſſumed their importance, and the Nariſkins were excluded from all ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs.

Sophia gained the affection of her brother Feodor, by the ſuperiority of her underſtanding, inſinuating addreſs, and unwearied attention during his long illneſs. To her the tzar, whoſe infirmities rendered him unfit to govern, reſigned the direction of affairs, and at her ſuggeſtion, placed his ſole confidence in prince Vaſſili Galitzin, a nobleman who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, under the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, for his political abilities.

* The Ruſſian regiment of guards were called Strelitz, or Streltſi, until they were ſuppreſſed, and the name aboliſhed, by Peter the Great.

† Sumorokof's Aufruehr der Strelitzen, p. 4.

Feodor dying without iſſue, April 1682, Ivan his brother, and rightful heir of the throne, was excluded from the ſucceſſion on account of his incapacity, and his half-brother Peter declared tzar. In regard to this event, the partizans of Peter endeavoured to eſtabliſh two poſitions: 1. That he was raiſed to this dignity in conſequence of Feodor's expreſs appointment; and, 2. By the unanimous voice of the nation.

With reſpect to the firſt poſition, the nomination of Peter *; when we conſider, that Feodor was governed by Sophia and his own family, it is not probable, that he ſhould act in direct oppoſition to their intereſts; and enſure, by the nomination of Peter, the adminiſtration of affairs to the Nariſkins. This ſtate of the caſe has been lately eſtabliſhed by a Ruſſian hiſtorian †, who informs us, from the authority of authentic records, that Peter did not owe his elevation to any declaration of Feodor in his favour, but to the ſuffrages of thoſe perſons in whom the right of nominating the ſucceſſor was veſted.

In regard to the ſecond poſition, the unanimity of Peter's election; Muller, who, has explored the Ruſſian archives with a view of aſcertaining

* "Feodor avant d'expirer, voyant que ſon frère Ivan, trop diſgracié de la nature, était incapable de regner, nomma pour héritier des Ruſſes ſon ſecond frère Pierre," &c. Voltaire.

† Prince Sherebatof. See Bach. Ruſſ. Bib. vol. V. p. 502.

this

this point, can ſupply us with no better proofs than the following information *:

"Soon after the death of Feodor, all the ſervants of the court, the officers, and eccleſiaſtics, who were then at Moſcow, aſſembled in the palace and court-yard to kiſs the hand of the deceaſed monarch; after which ceremony they alſo kiſſed the hands of the two princes Ivan and Peter, the former of whom was ſixteen, and the latter ten years of age. The ill health of Ivan, the hopeful appearance of Peter, and the well-known prudence and virtue of his mother †, induced all who were preſent to prefer the younger to the elder brother, and unanimouſly to raiſe Peter to the throne. The aſtoniſhing quiet and unanimity with which this important affair was accompliſhed, ſeems to prove, that it was preconcerted by the patriarch and principal nobility. The patriarch Joachim, deſcended from a noble family, was at the head of this tranſaction. The principal courtiers, eccleſiaſtics, nobles, officers, merchants, and a great concourſe of people, being aſſembled before the imperial palace, he demanded of them, whom they would nominate tzar, Ivan or Peter? The queſtion *was extremely unuſual*, but, being juſtified by the circumſtances, was anſwered in favour of Peter. Probably the party of Ivan did not foreſee that a younger prince, who was a minor, would be preferred to his elder brother; *and were therefore not prepared to make any oppoſition to the appointment of Peter.*

"Two contradictory accounts of this nomination are given in two of the moſt authentic records in the archives of Moſcow. The firſt informs us that Ivan, as the eldeſt, publicly renounced his right to the crown, before it could be conferred upon Peter: the ſecond makes no mention of this renunciation, but aſcribes the appointment of Peter to the general wiſhes of the nation."

* Von Peter's des Groſſen erſtern Gelangung zum Thron. in Jour. Pet. for 1780.

† This princeſs was then ſcarcely 24 years of age, and had given no proofs of prudence and wiſdom.—L'Eveſque more juſtly ſtyles her "jeune princeſſe qui n'avoit pu ſe faire encore aucune reputation."

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The firſt record in the office for foreign affairs thus relates the tranſaction:

"And the patriarch Joachim, and the metropolitans and archbiſhops, and all the clergy, and the Siberian and Kaſſimovian princes, and the Boiars and Okolnitſhi, and the Doumnie-Diaki, and the Stolnics and Straeptſhi, and the nobility of Moſcow, and the Shilitſi, and the nobles from the country, and the ſoldiers and Goſti, and the merchants and people, entreated the princes, Ivan and Peter, that one of them would pleaſe to aſcend the hereditary throne of Ruſſia," &c. And the tzarovitch Ivan ſaid, "It being advantageous for the public that my brother the tzarovitch and great-duke Peter ſhould aſcend the throne of Ruſſia, *becauſe his mother the tzarina Natalia is alive*: I, therefore, the tzarovitch and great-duke Ivan, reſign the throne to the tzarovitch and great-duke Peter. And the tzar and great-duke Peter aſcended the throne."

According to the other record, which is in the Journal of Occurrences at court:

"The patriarch demands of the perſons aſſembled for the nomination of the new ſovereign, whom they would elect Ivan or Peter. And the Stolnics and Straeptſhi, and the nobles, and the Diaki, and the Shilitſi, and the Dietiboiraſki, and the Goſti, and the merchants, and the other people of different ranks, anſwered unanimouſly, that the throne of all the kingdoms of the great Ruſſian empire belonged to Peter Alexievitch: then the patriarch addreſſed the Boiars, Okolnitſhi, privy counſellors, and principal perſons belonging to the court; and the Boiars, &c. anſwered unanimouſly, The tzarovitch and great-duke Peter is, by the choice of all the ſtates and people of the Moſcovite empire, tzar and great-duke of all Great, Little, and White Ruſſia."

We may remark upon theſe extracts, that being compiled by the friends of Peter, even if they did not contradict each other, their authority

rity would be exceedingly exceptionable; nor could their ſilence, with reſpect to any oppoſition, be conſidered as a ſufficient teſtimony that the ſuffrages in favour of Peter were unanimous; becauſe his adherents would never record any particulars tending in the ſmalleſt degree to invalidate his pretenſions, or ſupport thoſe of Ivan. Beſides, when we recollect the power of the family of Milolaſſki during the reign of Feodor, the influence which prince Vaſſili Galitzin muſt have acquired from his office of prime miniſter, and particularly the inſinuating manners and popularity of Sophia (all of whom were bound, not only by the ſtrongeſt ties of intereſt, but even for their common ſecurity, to ſupport the cauſe of Ivan) it is not probable, that the nomination of Peter was as unanimous as it is repreſented. And indeed it is certain *, that a nobleman, named Sumbalof, objected to the validity of the election, becauſe the younger brother was preferred to the elder; that his remonſtrance was followed by thoſe of many others, and that even the patriarch Joachim, who is eſteemed by Muller a ſtrong advocate of Peter, ſoon afterwards embraced the party of Ivan: theſe circumſtances ſeem to imply that Peter was not raiſed to the throne by the unanimous voice of the nation;

* Sumorokof, p. 55—57.

but

but that the ſuffrages of the aſſembly had been *ſurprized* by the ſecret machinations of the Narikins.

Peter, however, by whatſoever means his nomination was obtained, received, as ſole ſovereign, the fealty of his ſubjects; and the government was entruſted to his mother Natalia. But the party in oppoſition to Peter was ſtrong and powerful; his election was not as yet confirmed by the whole body of Strelitz, who, to uſe the ſpirited expreſſion of a Ruſſian author, poſſeſſed above 14,000 armed votes*; and their peculiar ſituation at this important juncture rendered them fit inſtruments of a new revolution.

Juſt before Feodor's demiſe, nine of theſe regiments, quartered at Moſcow, having tumultuouſly aſſembled, demanded redreſs of ill-treatment received from their colonels, and an inſtant diſcharge of all their arrears. Prince George Dolgorucki, their chief, having ordered one of the ringleaders to be ſeized, ſtripped, and puniſhed with the knoot, an immediate inſurrection was the conſequence; the executioners were inſulted, and the priſoners reſcued †. On the day ſubſequent to the interment of Feodor, the ſoldiers proceeded in a large body to the Kremlin, and preſented

* 14198 bewaffnete ſtimme. Sumorokof, p. 19.

† Gordon, p. 70.

a petition

a petition againſt nine of their colonels, who being delivered to them by the miniſtry, were publicly whipped and diſcharged *. Ivan Miloſlaſſki inflamed the diſcontents of this mutinous body, and though confined to his chamber by a pretended ſickneſs, contrived to hold ſeveral interviews with the ringleaders, who aſſembled at night in his palace. Sophia is alſo accuſed of being preſent at theſe meetings, of diſtributing money to the principal inſurgents, and of exaſperating them againſt the family of Nariſkin. On the morning of the 15th of May, a report being ſpread that Peter was not unanimouſly elected, the drums beat to arms by order of Ivan Miloſlaſſki, and the Strelitz being tumultuouſly aſſembled, two perſons of his party entered their quarters, crying, "The hour of vengeance is at hand, Ivan Alexievitch is aſſaſſinated, and the Nariſkins are maſters of Ruſſia; revenge the murder of the tzarovitch." The ſoldiers, inflamed to fury by theſe exclamations, marched with drums beating and colours flying to the Kremlin, tolled the great bell, ſurrounded the palace, and demanded the aſſaſſins of Ivan. Although the tzarina immediately produced both Ivan and Peter; yet the inſurgents were not appeaſed, but vehemently required the execution of

* Gordon, p. 72; and Voltaire.

the

the Nariſkins. Their fury was ſtill further augmented by a rumour induſtriouſly circulated, that Ivan Nariſkin, the brother of the tzarina, had ſeized the diadem and royal robes. In the midſt of this tumult, one of the officers ventured to harangue the ſoldiers; he aſſured them, that Ivan Alexiavitch was in perfect ſafety; that all their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and exhorted them to diſperſe. This harangue ſeemed to make a ſenſible impreſſion, and the tumult was ſubſiding; when Prince Dolgorucki imprudently threatened them with the ſevereſt puniſhment for their mutiny and rebellion: inflamed by this ill-timed menace, they ſeized the prince, hurled him into the air, received him upon their pikes, and hewed his body to pieces. This aſſaſſination was the prelude to a more general maſſacre, which coutinued during three days without intermiſſion. Not only the two brothers of the tzarina, and a few others moſt obnoxious to the inſurgents, fell victims to their fury, but ſeveral perſons, by no means unpopular, were ſacrificed amidſt the general confuſion, and Moſcow underwent a general pillage.

To cloſe this horrid ſcene, the principal nobles aſſembled on the 18th of May, and, by a compromiſe between the two parties, Ivan and Peter were declared joint ſovereigns; but as Ivan

was

was incapable of governing, and Peter in his minority, the adminiſtration of affairs was veſted in the hands of Sophia. Hence concluſions were drawn unfavourable to that princeſs: ſhe was accuſed of having maintained a ſecret intelligence with the ringleaders of Strelitz, of exciting them by falſe reports to revolt, of ordering money and ſpirituous liquors to be diſtributed among the ſoldiers, and even of delivering them a liſt* of forty nobles whom ſhe had proſcribed. All her actions are malignantly interpreted: when Ivan Nariſkin was led to execution; ſhe publicly accompanied the tzarina and the patriarch to intercede for his life, placed the image of the Virgin Mary in his hands to ſtop the fury of the Strelitz, and endeavoured, though in vain, to ſooth his aſſaſſins †. They who judge unfavourably of her conduct, ſay, that this compaſſion was only feigned; and that ſhe ſecretly inſtigated his aſſaſſination, though ſhe outwardly affected to intercede ‡.

* "Enfin, Sophie" ſays Voltaire, "fait remettre entre leurs "mains une liſte de quarante ſeigneurs qu'elle appelle leurs ene-"mis, et ceux de l'Etat et qu'ils doivent maſſacrer." I cannot give credit to this liſt of forty nobles, which Voltaire compares "aux proſcriptions de Sylla et des triumvirs de Rome." Whoever will attentively peruſe the account of the enſuing maſſacre in Gordon, or even in Voltaire, will find that the fury of the Strelitz, except againſt the Nariſkins, was more directed by chance than by deſign.

† Gordon, p. 81. ‡ Sumorokof.

Upon

Upon this ſuppoſition the whole conduct of Sophia implies ſuch a deep-laid ſcheme of hypocriſy, artifice, and revenge, as ſeems rather adapted to a politician grown grey in iniquity, and long practiſed in the arts of ſedition, than to a princeſs like Sophia, only in the 25th year of her age.

But the cauſes which led to this revolution, may be traced from ſeveral events in the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, long before Sophia had the leaſt influence in political affairs, and particularly from the domeſtic feuds in the imperial family. It appears alſo that the firſt inſurrection of the Strelitz was caſual; occaſioned by the arrears of pay, and the unpopularity of the colonels, and cannot, with the leaſt degree of probability, be imputed to the intrigues of Sophia; therefore ſhe can only be accuſed, even by the moſt malignant interpretation of her conduct, of availing herſelf of that mutiny to procure the election of Ivan. But there is ſurely a wide difference between aſſerting the injuſtice of his excluſion from the throne; or, under the maſk of moderation and candour, inflaming to madneſs the fury of a diſaffected ſoldiery, and calmly leading them from aſſaſſination to aſſaſſination *.

* Tandis que les Strelitz commençaient ainſi à ſe faire craindre, la princeſſe Sophie, *qui les animait ſous main, pour les conduire de crime en crime*, &c. Voltaire.

But

But is it not more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that Ivan Milolaſſki, who had, during the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, formed a party againſt the Nariſkins, ſhould take advantage of this ſedition of the Strelitz, with whom he had long entertained a ſecret intelligence; and that Sophia was the oſtenſible inſtrument of his deſigns? In a word, that ſhe was raiſed to the regency by the cabals of a powerful party, who foreſaw their own ruin in the nomination of Peter; and who, in the midſt of an inſurrection, held forth to this licentious body the unalienable rights of Ivan. Examples were not wanting to prove that the incapacity of Ivan was no bar to his election: a memorable inſtance was exhibited in the perſon of Feodor Ivanovitch, who, notwithſtanding his imbecility, was raiſed to the throne, and a regency entruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs *. It muſt alſo be conſidered, that Peter, then only in his eleventh year, had not diſplayed any inſtances of that vaſt ſuperiority of underſtanding, which afterwards marked his character; and that his mother, who was to ſway the reins of empire, was a perſon of no experience, and extremely unpopular. Nor is it matter of ſurprize that the care of Ivan and the adminiſtration of government ſhould be com-

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 19.

mitted to Sophia. The victorious family would naturally chooſe a regent devoted from intereſt and inclination to their party; a perſon of imperial lineage, popular manners, reſpectable character, and great abilities; all theſe requiſites centered in Sophia.

However authors may have cenſured the ambitious deſigns of Sophia; they unanimouſly concur in delineating her engaging manners, the beauties of her perſon *, the vigour and wiſdom

* Weber, the Hanoverian Envoy at St. Peterſburgh in the beginning of this century, ſays of Sophia, "The tzar was frequently heard to declare, that, excepting her inordinate ambition, ſhe was a princeſs of *great perſonal* and mental accompliſhments." Ver. Ruſſ. vol. I. p. 143.——Voltaire cloſes a ſpirited portrait, by ſaying, "une *figure agréable* relevoit tous ſes talens." Perry deſcribes her, at the time of the revolution, as a *handſome* young lady, then upwards of 23. He came into Ruſſia in 1702, two years before her death; and though he never ſaw her himſelf, on account of her impriſonment, muſt have known many who had been perſonally acquainted with her. Perry's State of Ruſſia, p. 143.—— Sumorokof ſays of her, that ſhe poſſeſſed a good underſtanding and *great beauty*, p. 10.——Many other authors might be quoted to the ſame purpoſe, but as there is nothing which party-malice will not invent to depreciate an obnoxious character, the ſuppoſititious Poliſh envoy La Neuville has miſrepreſented her perſon as much as her conduct, "Sophie dont l'eſprit & le merite ne tiennent rien de la *difformité de ſon corps, etant d'une groſſeur monſtreueuſe, avec une tête large comme un boiſſeau, du poil au viſage, des loups aux jambes* & au moins 40 ans; mais autant *que ſa taille eſt large, courte, & groſſiere*, autant ſon eſprit eſt fin, delié & politique; & ſans avoir jamais lû Machiavel, elle poſſede naturellement toutes ſes maximes," &c. p. 151.

of

of her adminiſtration, and her extenſive plans for the advantage of her country.

Sophia repoſed her principal confidence in prince Vaſſili Galitzin, commonly known by the name of the Great Galitzin, a moſt able miniſter, and conſummate politician. The ſcandalous chronicle of thoſe times, or rather of a later period, attributed her partiality to a ſofter paſſion, though he was above ſixty years of age; and her enemies have not even ſcrupled to declare *, that ſhe had formed the plan of aſſaſſinating the two tzars, uſurping the throne, and eſpouſing prince Galitzin, who was to obtain a divorce from his wife.

Sophia † has been alſo accuſed not only of neglecting the education of Peter, but of introducing him into the company of the moſt profligate young men, and encouraging his propenſity to every ſpecies of exceſs which might enervate his frame, weaken his underſtanding, and render him averſe to buſineſs. This calumny, however, has been amply refuted by Muller ‡, who has ſhewn, from unqueſtionable authority, that Ivan and Peter had two different courts; the education of Peter was ſolely entruſted to his mother; and if improper perſons were placed about him,

* Gordon, p. 86.

† Voltaire.

‡ Journ. of St. Pet. Mar. 1778. p. 168, 169.

the blame muſt fall upon her, and not upon Sophia. With reſpect to his propenſity to drinking, that vice was extremely common iu Ruſſia, and prince Vaſſili * Galitzin was as remarkable for his ſobriety as the favourites of Peter, Le Fort and Boris Galitzin, were notorious for intemperance. "Le Fort," ſays a writer who was in Livonia when the tzar and his ſuite paſſed through that country in his firſt journey to Holland, "is a man of good underſtanding; very perſonable, engaging, and entertaining; a true Swiſs for probity and bravery, but *chiefly for drinking*. Open tables are kept every where with trumpets and muſic, attended with feaſting and exceſſive drinking, as if his tzariſh majeſty had been another Bacchus. I have not yet ſeen ſuch hard drinkers; it is not poſſible to expreſs it, and they boaſt of it as a mighty qualification †."

Thus it appears that Peter had examples of intemperance in his own houſhold; and it cannot be ſuppoſed that Le Fort was the creature of Sophia. The evident falſehood of ſuch vi-

* "Galitzin was the only man of quality in Ruſſia who could entertain, without forcing his company to drink to exceſs. Brandy, the liquor which flowed at every other table, was ſeldom ſeen at his, who never drank any himſelf, but took much delight in rational and ingenious converſation."

Mottley's Life of Peter.

† Account of Livonia, p. 293.

rulent

rulent accuſations ſhould induce us not to credit other calumnies; particularly the charge that ſhe attempted to deſtroy Peter by poiſon, which, though it failed of its intended effect, diſordered his conſtitution, and occaſionally produced melancholy and deſpair bordering on madneſs. This report took its riſe from his proneneſs to epileptic fits; a diſorder common in his family, which gradually diminiſhed as he grew ſtronger, but never entirely forſook him. Before an attack, the natural vehemence and ſavageneſs of his temper broke out with redoubled violence, and rendered him the terror of all who approached him. The inveterate rancour with which the enemies of Sophia have calumniated her memory, is in no inſtance more evident than from their abſurdly imputing the brutal ferocity of Peter to the effects of poiſon which ſhe adminiſtered *,

But

† " Il prenoit quelquefois des accès d'humeur chagrine, ou il ſemblait frappé de l'ideé noire qu'on voulait attenter à ſa perſonne, et ou ſes amis les plus familiers craignaient ſes emportemens. CES ACCES ETAIENT UN RESTE FATAL DU POISON, QU'IL REÇUT DE SON AMBITIEUSE SOEUR SOPHIE. On en connaiſſait l'approche à certains *mouvemens convulſifs de ſa bouche*. L'Imperatrice était avertie. Elle venait lui parler; le ſon de cette voix le calmait à l'inſtant. Elle le faiſait aſſeoir, et s'emparait en le cajolant de ſa tête, qu'elle grattait doucement. C'était comme un charme, qui *l'aſſoupiſſait* en peu de minutes. Pour ne pas troubler ſon *ſommeil*, elle ſoutenait ſa tête ſur ſon

But it is time to trace the principal cauſes of her fall. Sophia, to whom Ivan ſurrendered the direction of affairs, aſſumed ſome exterior marks of homage, which ſeem to have been hitherto appropriated only to the ſovereigns of Ruſſia. While the heads of her two brothers were impreſſed on one ſide of the coins, her image, arrayed with the crown, ſceptre, and imperial robes, was ſtamped upon the reverſe; in the public acts her name was added to the ſignature of the two tzars *, and ſhe appeared in proceſſions decorated with all the enſigns of royalty †: circumſtances which gave umbrage to the rival family, and afforded a ſpecious pretence for inveighing againſt her ambitious deſigns.

ſein, ſans ſe rémüer *pendant deux ou trois heures.* Alors il ſe reveillaint, entierement raſſis et rémis au lieu qu'avant qu'elle eût étudié cette manière ſi ſimple de le ſoulager, ces accès etaient la terreur de ceux qui l'approchaient, aïant cauſé dit on quelques malheurs, et êtant ſuivi de *maux de tête affreux, qui duraient des journées entieres.*" Baſſevitz in Buſ. H. M. IX. p. 294. Strange effects of poiſon given in his infancy. Thoſe who have been uſed to ſee perſons in epileptic fits, will eaſily diſcover all the effects of that diſorder from the words in Italics. Biſhop Burnet ſays, "he was ſubject to convulſive motions all over his body, and his head ſeemed to be affected with theſe."

* She did not ſign her name in the public decrees until 1687. Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. v. I. p. 9.

† Theſe circumſtances cannot imply a deſign of uſurping the ſovereign authority; for ſhe was only accuſed, even by her enemies, of ſecretly conſpiring againſt Peter, and not of an open attempt to ſeize the crown.

Peter,

Peter, as he advanced in years and felt himſelf born for empire, beheld with diſſatisfaction the power lodged in the hands of a rival party: encouraged by his mother and her adherents, he claimed a ſhare in the adminiſtration, and took his ſeat, for the firſt time, in the privy council, on the 25th of January, 1688, in the eighteenth year of his age. Sophia, though unwilling to reſign any part of her authority, could not withhold her conſent; but as Peter's ſpirit was above controul, ſhe availed herſelf of ſome violent altercations which paſſed between them, to exclude him from his ſeat. From this period their diſſentions aroſe to ſo great an height, as to threaten an open rupture; and the fall of the one ſeemed neceſſary for the ſecurity of the other *.

Things remained in this ſtate of jealouſy and variance, until September, 1689; when the aſpiring genius of Peter acquired the aſcendancy, and ſecured his undivided authority by the fall and impriſonment of Sophia. By the advice of Boris Galitzin and the Nariſkins, Peter reſolved to arreſt his ſiſter, and ſeize the reins of government. It is aſſerted by his adherents †, that Sophia and prince Vaſſili Galitzin, apprized of his intentions, determined to prevent their own ruin by his aſſaſſination; that they gained over the

* Journ. of St. Pet. for 1778, p. 175, 176.
† Gordon.

chief of the Strelitz and a corps of 600 men, and actually commiſſioned them to perpetrate that infamous deed. Peter had retired to ſleep at his palace of Preobaſhenſki near Moſcow; when two * of the conſpirators, it is ſaid, ſtruck with horror at their crime, quitted their companions, and haſtened to the young tzar with the information that a body of Strelitz were upon their march to aſſaſſinate him. Peter refuſed to credit their report, until it was confirmed by Boris Galitzin and one of his uncles, whom he diſpatched to reconnoitre; and the conſpirators were already ſo near that he had ſcarcely time to make his eſcape †. He inſtantly proceeded to the convent of the Holy Trinity; where troops flocked from all quarters, and in three days he had an army of 60,000 men under his command.

* It is remarkable, that this ſame ſtory of two conſpirators who were engaged to aſſaſſinate Peter, but, repenting, diſcovered the plot, is again related as happening in 1697. Schmidt. Ruſſ. Geſ. v. II. p. 90.

† Voltaire, though convinced of Sophia's intention to aſſaſſinate Peter, and notwithſtanding the intelligence he received from the court of Peterſburg, can only give us the following ſcanty information: "La Neuville *reſident alors à Moſcow, et temoin oculaire de ce qui ſe paſſa, pretend que* Sophie et Galitzin engagerent le nouveau chef des Strèlitz à leur ſacrifier leur jeune czar: il parait au moins que ſix-cent de ces Strelitz devaient s'emparer de ſa perſonne. Les memoires ſecrettes que la cour de Ruſſie m'a confiés, aſſurent que le parti etoit pris de tuer Pierre Premier; le coup allait être porté, et la Ruſſie etait privé à jamais de la nouvelle exiſtence, qu'elle," &c.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile Sophia, in a ſtate of conſternation, denied all intercourſe with the conſpirators, expreſſed the utmoſt horror at their attempt, diſpatched repeated meſſages to her brother to juſtify her conduct, and even ſet off in perſon to aſſert her innocence; but was ordered to return to Moſcow, and deliver the ringleaders of the mutiny. Soon afterwards Peter himſelf repaired to the capital: the principal conſpirators being tortured in his preſence, confeſſed a deſign againſt his life, and ſuffered the ſevereſt puniſhment. Vaſſili Galitzin * was baniſhed into Siberia, and Sophia impriſoned for life in the Devitchèi nunnery: Peter alone aſſumed the reins of government, and found ſufficient ſcope for his vaſt and enterpriſing genius; while the name of Ivan was ſtill inſerted as a matter of formality, in the public acts until his death, which happened in 1696.

Such are the principal circumſtances of this extraordinary revolution; but this is the account given by the victorious party, and the cauſe of Sophia has never undergone a candid examination. It may be impoſſible to exculpate her entirely from ambitious views: ſhe might be unwilling to relinquiſh a power which ſhe had long enjoyed, and exerciſed with great ability;

* This able miniſter ſurvived his fall 24 years; he was releaſed from priſon in 1711; and died at his own eſtate in 1713.

ſhe

ſhe might eſteem the right of Ivan to the throne as ſuperior to that of Peter, and conſider Peter's acquiſition of the ſole ſovereignty as the certain prelude to her own deſtruction; but we have no poſitive evidence * that ſhe conſpired againſt her brother's life; and perhaps the whole ſtory of the intended aſſaſſination was feigned by Boris Galitzin † and her enemies. She wanted not opportunities of eſcaping from Ruſſia, and never would have imprudently demanded admittance into Peter's preſence, to aſſert her innocence, had the proofs of her guilt been as ſtrong as her adverſaries pretended. In a word, the conflict between Peter and Sophia was the conflict of two rivals impatient of controul, and ſtriving for pre-eminence: the cauſe of the ſucceſsful party was deemed juſt and equitable, and the vanquiſhed faction loaded with every ſpecies of enormity.

The reſtleſs ſpirit of Sophia, brooding in the ſolitude of a convent, is ſaid to have excited

* We have no certain proofs that any of the conſpirators accuſed Sophia of being privy to any deſign upon Peter's life; and, even if they did name her as an accomplice, their evidence, extorted by the rack, is by no means to be depended on.

† It appears from the following paſſage that the diſcovery of Sophia's deſigns came from that quarter: "Prince Boris Galitzin, a faithful ſubject of the tzar Peter, coming timely to penetrate into his kinſman's prince Baſil's deſigns, put the tzar upon his guard, adviſing him, without delay, to take the government into his hands." Gordon, v. I. p. 89.

freſh

freſh troubles and inſurrections; and, during her life, no conſpiracy was formed againſt Peter, in which ſhe was not ſuſpected of being concerned. She was more particularly accuſed of being privy to the rebellion in 1697; when 8000 Strelitz, ſeizing the opportunity of Peter's abſence upon his travels, roſe in arms on the frontiers of Lithuania, and marched towards Moſcow. The rebels were defeated by the addreſs and courage of general Patrick Gordon; many were put to the ſword, and the remainder ſurrendered at diſcretion. The tzar received at Vienna the account of the mutiny and defeat of the Strelitz, and inſtantly haſtened to Moſcow to examine the delinquents in perſon.

Peter was anxious to diſcover the cauſes of the rebellion; to learn by whoſe intrigues it was excited, and, above all, to convict Sophia, whom he charged with fomenting the public diſcontents, and holding a correſpondence with the rebels. But as no perſons could give immediate and pertinent anſwers to his queſtions; he entertained ſuſpicions of all his courtiers, and determined to inſtitute a court of inquiry at his palace of Preobraſhenſki, where the inſtruments of torture were brought. The tzar himſelf examined the accuſed, urged them to confeſſion, and ordered thoſe who maintained ſilence to be racked in his preſence. The cruelty of the tortures

employed

employed on this occaſion was inexpreſſibly dreadful; human nature ſhudders at the recital, but it is neceſſary to mention them in juſtification of Sophia. Some of the rebels were repeatedly whipped; others had their ſhoulders diſlocated by a cord and pulley, and in that painful poſture received the knoot; many after undergoing the knoot were roaſted over a ſlow fire, the raw parts being expoſed to the flame *. Phyſicians were preſent to aſcertain the degree of pain which the unhappy convicts were capable of ſupporting, and to recover thoſe who had fainted, that the application of freſh tortures might recommence with the renewal of their ſtrength. This dreadful inquiſition was continued, without intermiſſion, through the whole month of October. Not only every ſpecies of puniſhment, the moſt refined which human cruelty could deviſe, was inflicted in order to extort an accuſation of Sophia; but promiſes of pardon, and even of great promotion, were offered for the ſame purpoſe to the wretched ſufferers in the midſt of the moſt excruciating agonies †.

At

* It appears from Olearius, and other travellers into Ruſſia, that theſe tortures were ordinarily uſed in that country for the purpoſe of forcing confeſſion.

† This account is extracted from the Diary of Korb, (v. I. p. 129.) ſecretary of the Auſtrian embaſſy to Ruſſia in 1697, who was preſent at Moſcow during theſe horrid procedings. He received

At length a few * of the Strelitz, overcome by the ſeverity of the torments, or ſeduced by hopes of pardon and the promiſe of promotion, confeſſed an intention to ſet fire to the ſuburbs of Moſcow, to maſſacre all foreigners, to baniſh or aſſaſſinate the principal nobility, to raiſe the tzarovitch Alexèy to the throne, and to appoint Sophia regent during his minority; others declared that the ringleaders had drawn up a petition, which they intended to preſent to that princeſs, praying her to accept the adminiſtration of affairs.

Although none of the rebels charged Sophia with being acceſſary to their inſurrection, yet Peter was ſo prejudiced againſt her, that he put to the torture one of her female attendants; and when no evidence of her guilt could be procured by that horrid expedient, even examined her in perſon. The princeſs, whoſe high ſpirit was ſubdued by her misfortunes, and worn out by a long confinement, could not refrain from weeping at the ſight of her obdurate brother; and even extorted tears from Peter himſelf, though

information from ſeveral German officers in the ſervice of Peter, who were eye-witneſſes. Korb's authority is alſo to be depended on in this inſtance, becauſe he ſpeaks highly in favour of Peter, and condemns the ambition of Sophia. Gordon alſo, though ſo partial to Peter, informs us, that the rebels were tortured and examined in his preſence.

* "Quorundam pertinaciâ denum victâ." Korb.

without

without melting his reſentment *. But neither this, nor every other effort employed to convict her, was attended with ſucceſs; and the only proof of her ſecret correſpondence with the rebels was derived from the confeſſion of a boy belonging to an officer of the Strelitz, who declared, that letters incloſed in loaves of bread had paſſed between Sophia and his maſter †. The officer, however, peremptorily denied the fact even upon the rack, and was led to execution perſiſting to the laſt moment in this aſſeveration. The caſe ſeems to be, that the innovations of Peter created a conſiderable number of malcontents; that the introduction of the European diſcipline, and his partiality to the foreign regiments, inflamed the diſaffection of the Strelitz to ſuch a degree as to account for their rebellion, without ſuppoſing any cabals on the part of Sophia; that ſhe had long been the object of affection to all the enemies of Peter, and was naturally the perſon to whom they would conſign the adminiſtration had the revolt been attended with ſucceſs.

Peter was extremely exaſperated againſt So-

* "Ad monaſterium Neo virginum diſceſſit tzarus, ut ſororem ſuam Sophiam, dicto monaſterio incluſam, examinaret; publice enim nuperi tumultus vulgo rea habebatur: primus utriuſque introitus uberrimas amborum lacrymas exciviſſe dicitur." Korb.

† Gordon, vol. I. p. 129, 130.

phia,

phia, and once determined to put her to death; but having changed his reſolution, compelled her to aſſume the veil. To ſtrike her with terror, and announce to the public that he thought her privy to the rebellion, two hundred and thirty Strelitz were hanged within ſight of the nunnery in which ſhe was confined, and three of the ringleaders ſuſpended upon a gibbet erected cloſe * to the window of her apartment; they held in their hands petitions ſimilar to that which, according to the confeſſion of the Strelitz, was to have been preſented to Sophia.

From this period hiſtory is ſilent in relation to Sophia: ſhe was confined under a ſtrict guard in the monaſtery until her death, in July 1704. She was interred in the church of the convent; the tomb is covered with a black cloth, and contains this inſcription: "A. M. 7212 (or 1704 of the Chriſtian æra) on the third of July, died Sophia Alexiefna, aged 46 years, nine months, and ſix days: her monaſtick name was Suſanna. She had been a nun five years, eight months, and twelve days: ſhe was buried the 4th in this church, called the Image of Smolenſko. She

* Gordon, p. 95, 130. Korb, who ſaw them hanging, ſays, "Tam prope ad ipſas Sophiani cubiculi feneſtras, ut Sophia eoſdem manu facile poſſet attingere." On this occaſion above 2000 Strelitz ſuffered capital puniſhment. Peter broke at the ſame time the whole body of Strelitz, and aboliſhed their name.

was daughter of Alexèy Michaelovitch, and of Maria Ilinitchna."

Although Peter always ſuſpected the intrigues of his ſiſter, yet he never failed paying a juſt tribute to her genius and abilities. "What a pity," he was frequently heard to ſay, "that ſhe perſecuted me in my minority, and that I cannot repoſe any confidence in her! otherwiſe, when I am employed abroad, ſhe might govern at home *."

One ſtriking feature in Sophia's character, which I had no opportunity of mentioning, while my inquiry was chiefly confined to her political conduct, muſt not be omitted. She deſerves the veneration of poſterity for patronizing perſons of genius and learning, and encouraging, by her own example, the introduction of polite literature into Ruſſia, then plunged in the deepeſt ignorance. At a period when there was no national theatre, and when the loweſt buffooneries, under the name of *moralities*, were the ſole dramatic repreſentations even at court; this elegant princeſs tranſlated the *Medecin malgré lui* of

* This anecdote, which I received from prince Volkouſki, is confirmed by a paſſage in Perry's State of Ruſſia. "I remember that upon a certain occaſion, when mention was made of her [i. e. Sophia], the czar himſelf gave her this character, that ſhe was a princeſs endowed with all the accompliſhments of body and mind to perfection, had it not been for her boundleſs ambition, and inſatiable deſire of governing." Vol. I. p. 138.

Moliere

Moliere into her native tongue, and performed one of the characters herſelf. She alſo compoſed a tragedy, probably the firſt extant in the Ruſſian language; and ſhe compoſed it at a time when the moſt violent cabals were excited againſt her miniſtry, and when the moſt weighty affairs ſeemed to engroſs her ſole attention.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Journey from Moſcow to Novogorod.—Productions of the neighbouring country.—Quadrupeds.—Birds.—Fiſh.—Deſcription of the Sterlet.—Torſhok.—Viſhnèi-Voloſhok.—Valdai hills and lake.—Bronitza.—Wooden road.—Further account of the peaſants.—Yamſhics, who furniſh poſt-horſes.—Songs of the peaſants.

WE quitted Moſcow on the 14th of September, traverſed a gently riſing country, partly open, and partly overſpread with foreſts, paſſed the night at the village of Parſki, in a peaſant's cottage, as uſual, and changed horſes the next morning at Klin, ſituated upon the Seſtra, a broad rivulet. This village had been lately burnt, and the peaſants were engaged in rebuilding their huts: near it we obſerved a ſaw-pit, which, in this country, was too rare an object not to attract our notice. Beyond Savidof we croſſed a rivulet, and ſoon afterwards reached the banks of the Volga, which we coaſted to Gorodna. The next morning the ſprings of our carriage being ready to ſtart, and one of the wheels in a crazy ſtate, we left it to the care of our ſervants, and hired the carts of the country, called *kibitkas*, which we filled with hay.

hay. After a conſiderable degree of jolting, we arrived at Tver, which is magnificently ſituated upon the elevated banks of the Volga.

Tver * owes its origin to Vlodimir Georgivitch, great-duke of Vlodimir, who in 1182 raiſed a ſmall fortreſs at the junction of the Tvertza and Volga, to protect his territories againſt the incurſions of the inhabitants of Novogorod. Afterwards, in 1240, the great-duke Yaroſlaf II. built another citadel on the ſpot now occupied by the preſent fortreſs, and laid the foundation of a new town, which increaſing in population and wealth, became the metropolis of an independent ſovereignty, called from the town the duchy of Tver. Yaroſlaf III. ſon of Yaroſlaf II. and brother of Alexander Nevſki, received this duchy as his inheritance, and tranſmitted the ſucceſſion to a long train of deſcendants. The laſt ſovereign of this line was Michael Boriſovitch, whoſe ſiſter Maria eſpouſed the great-duke Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. Notwithſtanding this alliance, an open rupture enſued, and in 1486, Ivan beſieged Tver with a large army, and compelled Michael to abandon the town, and retire into Lithuania. On his retreat, Ivan Vaſſilievitch beſtowed the town and duchy as

* See Hiſt. Geog. Beſchreibung der Stadt Twer, &c. Journ. Pet. for November 1780.

a fief on his eldeſt ſon Ivan, and on his death in 1490, annexed them to his other dominions.

Tver is divided into the old and new town; the former, ſituated on the oppoſite ſide of the Volga, conſiſts almoſt entirely of wooden cottages; the latter was ſcarcely ſuperior; but in 1763, being deſtroyed by a dreadful conflagration, has riſen with luſtre from its aſhes. The empreſs ordered a regular plan of a new town to be ſketched by an eminent architect, and enjoined that all the houſes ſhould be re-conſtructed in conformity to this model. She raiſed, at her own expence, the governor's houſe, the biſhop's palace, courts of juſtice, the new exchange, priſon, and other public edifices; and offered to every perſon, who would build a brick houſe a loan of £.300. for twelve years without intereſt. The money advanced on this occaſion amounted to £.60,000; and one-third of this ſum has been ſince remitted. The ſtreets, which are broad and long, iſſue in a ſtraight line from an octagon, in the centre: the houſes are of brick ſtuccoed white, and form a magnificent appearance. Part only of the new town was finiſhed: when completed, it will conſiſt of two octagons, with ſeveral ſtreets leading to them, and interſecting each other at right-angles; and would be no inconſiderable

derable ornament to the moſt opulent and civilized country *.

There is an eccleſiaſtical ſeminary at Tver, under the inſpection of the biſhop, which admits 600 ſtudents. In 1776, the empreſs founded a ſchool for the inſtruction of 200 burghers' children; and in June 1779, an academy for the education of the young nobility of the province.

Tver is a place of conſiderable commerce; and both the Volga and the Tvertza were covered with boats. It owes its principal trade to the advantageous ſituation, near the conflux of the two rivers, which convey all the goods and merchandize ſent by water from Siberia and the ſouthern provinces towards Peterſburgh.

The Volga, the largeſt river in Europe, riſes in the foreſt of Volkonſki, at the diſtance of eighty miles from Tver, and begins to be navigable a few miles above the town. By means of the Tvertza, a communication is made between the Caſpian and the Baltic; as will be explained in a future chapter. The number of barges which paſſed by the town in 1776 amounted to 2537; in 1777, to 2641, and the average number is generally computed at 2550. The boats are flat-bottomed, on account of the frequent ſhoals,

* According to Heym, the circumference of Tver is 14 verſts, and it contains 2163 houſes, moſtly wooden, 26 churches, and a monaſtery. The population is 8014 males, and 7081 females.

and are conſtructed with new planks. The rudders have a ſingular appearance; the handle being a tree of 50 feet long, with a pole fixed to a broad piece of timber floating upon the ſurface. The pilot ſtands upon a kind of ſcaffold at the diſtance of 30 or 40 feet from the ſtern, and turns the rudder by means of the long handle. Theſe boats are only built for one voyage, and on their arrival at Peterſburgh, are ſold for fuel.

I have already mentioned the prodigious waſte of wood ariſing from the cuſtom of forming planks with the axe. To prevent this practice, which was no leſs uſual among the ſhipwrights than among the peaſants, orders were iſſued by government, that each veſſel, paſſing Tver, in which was one plank faſhioned with the hatchet, ſhould pay a fine of £.6. In conſequence of this decree the officer, who levied the fine, collected the firſt year £.6000, the ſecond £.1500, the third £.100, and the fourth nothing. By this judicious regulation the uſe of the ſaw has been introduced among the Ruſſian ſhipwrights, and will probably in time recommend itſelf to the carpenters and peaſants.

The riſing ſpirit of commerce has added greatly to the wealth and population of the town. It contains at preſent 10,000 ſouls, and the number of inhabitants in the government of Tver has increaſed in a ſurpriſing degree: a circum-

ſtance which ſhews the advantages ariſing from the new code of laws. Tver was the firſt province in which that code was introduced, and has already experienced the beneficial effects of theſe excellent regulations.

Tver being a large town, we concluded that we ſhould find no difficulty in obtaining the neceſſary repairs for the carriage, ſo as to enable it to convey us, during two or three days, without requiring further aſſiſtance. Truſting, therefore, to the workmanſhip of a Ruſſian ſmith, we ſet off at ſix in the evening with the expectation of reaching, in four hours, the next poſt, where we purpoſed to paſs the night; but we had ſcarcely proceeded ten miles, before we perceived that the wheel, inſtead of being ſtrengthened, was weakened by the ſmith's unſkilfulneſs. In this ſituation we ſtopped at a ſmall village; where it was not poſſible to procure any aſſiſtance, nor even a candle to ſmear the wheel, which required a conſtant ſupply of greaſe to prevent it from taking fire; and as the next place in our route, likely to afford a new wheel, was above ſixty miles, we prudently returned to Tver. I conſoled myſelf for this delay; as it gave us an opportunity to pay more attention to the town and environs than our tranſient ſtay had permitted. We took up our abode at the ſame houſe we had juſt quitted, an inn kept by a German, and one of the

magnificent brick edifices lately erected; but almoſt without furniture or beds.

On the following day we made an agreeable excurſion into the adjacent country: after croſſing the Volga over a bridge of boats, and the Tvertza over a raft, we rode between the banks of thoſe two beautiful rivers. We then left the Volga to purſue its courſe towards the Caſpian Sea, watering, as it paſſes, the moſt fertile provinces in Ruſſia, and bathing the walls of Caſan and Aſtracan, and made a circuit in the environs of Tver: we frequently ſtopped to admire ſeveral delightful views of the new town, proudly ſeated upon the ſteep bank of the Volga, the country gently ſloping towards the river.

Tver lies in the midſt of a large plain, interſperſed with gentle acclivities: The country produces in great abundance wheat, rye, barley, oats, buck-wheat, hemp and flax, and all ſorts of vegetables. The foreſts yield oak, birch, alder, poplar, mountain-aſh, pines, firs, and junipers. The quadrupeds, which rove in the neighbouring country, are elks, bears, wolves, and foxes; wild-goats and hares; alſo badgers, martens, weaſels, ermines, ferrets, ſquirrels, and marmottes. The principal birds are eagles and falcons, cranes, herons, ſwans, wild-geeſe and ducks, partridges, quails, woodcocks and ſnipes, black game; alſo

crows

crows and ravens, magpies and blackbirds, ſparrows and ſtarlings; together with nightingales, linnets, larks, and yellowhammers. The fiſh caught in the Volga are ſalmon, ſterlet, tench, pike, perch, groundlings, gudgeons, and ſometimes, but rarely, ſturgeon and beluga.

The ſterlet, *acipenſer ruthenus* of Linnæus, is probably peculiar to the northern parts of the globe, and is a ſpecies of ſturgeon, highly eſteemed for flavour, and for its roe, from which the fineſt caviare is made. It is diſtinguiſhed from the other ſturgeons by its colour and inferior ſize, being ſeldom more than three feet in length *. The top of the head and back are of a yellowiſh grey; the ſides of the body whitiſh; the belly white mixed with roſe-colour, eſpecially towards the mouth and vent; the eyes are of a ſky-blue, encircled with white. The ſnout is long and pointed, compreſſed and fluted. The mouth is tranſverſe, with thick prominent lips, which it has the power of drawing inwards, with a beard, conſiſting of four ſmall and ſoft *cirrhi*, or wattles. It has five rows of pointed bony imbricated ſcales, one upon the back, two along the ſides, and two under the belly; the row upon the back begins from the neck and reaches to the dorſal

* Lepekin's Reiſe, vol. II. p. 154. and Pallas's Reiſe, part II, p. 446.

fin;

fin; the number *, by which Linnæus aſcertains the ſpecies, and fixes at 15, varies from 14 to 17. The two ſide rows begin from the upper angle of the gill-covers, and reach to the middle of the tail: their form is flat in the middle, with dentated margins turning towards the tail; their number varies from 60 to 70. The two rows, which lie under the belly, reach from the pectoral towards the ventral fins; they are four-ſided, much ſmaller than thoſe upon the back, and thicker than thoſe on the ſides. Beſides theſe five rows, there are alſo ſome adipoſe bony ſcales between the tail and the vent; their number invariably five. The reſt of the ſkin is without ſcales, but extremely rough to the touch. It has, like moſt other fiſh, two pectoral fins, two ventral, one anal, one dorſal, and the tail is forked †. Many authors have erred in ſuppoſing this fiſh to be peculiar to the Volga and the Caſpian Sea; for they frequent many other rivers, lakes, and ſeas, of the Ruſſian empire. According to Muller, they are caught in the Dnieper, and ſeveral rivers falling into the Frozen Ocean,

* Acipenſer Ruthenus cirris 4. ſquamis dorſalibus 15. Muſ. Fred. I. p. 54. and Faun. Sue. 272.—In the Syſt. Nat. p. 403, he defines it, Acipenſer ordinibus 5. ſquamarum oſſearum, intermedio oſſiculis 15.

† The reader will find an engraving of the ſterlet in the Muſeum Fred. I. of Linnæus, in le Bruyn's Travels, vol. I. p. 89; and in Lepekin's Reiſe, Tab. 9.

particularly

particularly the Lena *. Lange aſſerts, that they are found in the Yeniſei; Pallas deſcribes them as inhabiting the Irtiſh, Oby, and Yaik; Georgi mentions them among the fiſh of the lake Baikal, and ſometimes in the Angara. We learn from Linnæus, that by order of Frederic I. king of Sweden, ſome live ſterlets, procured from Ruſſia, were thrown into the lake Mæler, where they propagated †. They have been ſometimes caught in the Gulf of Finland, and even in the Baltic; yet are not ſuppoſed natives of thoſe ſeas, but ſtray fiſh, which eſcaped from ſome veſſels daſhed to pieces in paſſing the falls of the river Maſta ‡.

Sept. 19. Having obtained the valuable acquiſition of a new wheel, we proceeded on our journey in the afternoon, and reached before the cloſe of the evening, Torſhok, which is ſituated upon the banks of the Tvertza. It is a large ſtraggling place, conſiſting chiefly of wooden buildings, intermixed with a few public ſtructures, and brick houſes, lately erected at the expence of the empreſs.

* S. R. G. IX. p. 4. Haygold's Ruſsland, vol. II. p. 416. Pallas's Reiſe, P. I. p. 284. P. II. p. 446. Georgi Reiſe, vol. I. p. 177.

† Faun. Sue. No. 272.

‡ Bruce relates, in his Memoirs, that ſome veſſels "going for Peterſburgh with live fiſh, called Sterlit, in paſſing the falls of Ladoga, were beat to pieces, by which accident the fiſh regained their liberty; and ſome of them were afterwards taken at Cronſtadt, and one catched at Stockholm, which were conſidered as great curioſities, as none of them had ever been ſeen in thoſe ſeas before." P. 112.

Although

Although Torſhok was only forty miles diſtant from Tver, we eſteemed it a fortunate circumſtance that, during that ſpace, no accident happened to our carriage. But we were not ſo ſucceſsful on the enſuing day: for the axle-tree breaking about ſix miles from Vidropuſk, we walked to the village, and having procured a temporary axle-tree to ſupport our infirm vehicle, again proceeded in *kibitkas* as far as Viſhnei-Voloſhok; a place remarkable for the canal, which, by uniting the Tvertza and the Maſta, connects the inland navigation between the Caſpian and the Baltic.

Viſhnei-Voloſhok, one of the imperial villages enfranchiſed by the empreſs, and endowed with conſiderable privileges, has already reaped many benefits from its new immunities. The inhabitants, raiſed from the ſituation of ſlaves to that of freemen, have ſhaken off their former indolence, and caught a new ſpirit of emulation and induſtry; they have turned their attention to trade, and are awakened to a ſenſe of the commercial advantages poſſeſſed by the place of their abode. The town is divided into regular ſtreets, and is already provided with a large range of ſhops and warehouſes, which line each ſide of the canal. All the buildings are of wood, excepting the court of juſtice erected at the charge of the empreſs, and four brick houſes belonging to a rich

rich burgher. During our ſtay at Viſhnei-Voloſhok, we did not fail to examine, with great attention, every part of the celebrated canal, of which an account will be given in a future chapter *.

Having procured a new axle-tree, we quitted, on the 21ſt, Viſhnei-Voloſhok, croſſed the river Shlina, and continued along a timber road, carried over extenſive moraſſes, and abounding with innumerable ſmall bridges, without railing, and moſtly in a ſhattered ſtate. I obſerved ſeveral villages, as well as fields and gardens, ſurrounded with wooden paliſadoes, about twelve feet in height, which preſented a pictureſque appearance. The cuſtom of encircling villages in this country with ſtakes is very ancient; for among the earlieſt laws of Ruſſia, one enjoins † the peaſants, under pain of the knoot, to ſurround the towns and villages with paliſadoes. Theſe encloſures were intended as a defence againſt the deſultory incurſions of the Tartar hordes before the invention of gunpowder; and the practice has been preſerved among a people tenacious of old uſages.

The country was for ſome way almoſt a continued bog, covered with foreſt, and the villages were built on eminences of ſand riſing out of the

* On the inland navigation of Ruſſia, in the next volume.

† Haygold, vol. I. p. 357.

moraſs.

moraſs. We paſſed the night at Kholiloff, a ſmall village, which had been lately conſumed by fire. Theſe repeated conflagrations will by no means appear a matter of wonder, when it is conſidered that the cottages are built with wood; and that the greater part of the peaſants, like thoſe in Poland, uſe, inſtead of candles, long ſlips of lighted deal, which they carry about the houſe, and even into hay-lofts, without the leaſt precaution. The next morning, the bad roads having ſhattered our new wheel, which was aukwardly put together, and already diſcovered ſymptoms of premature decay, we ſtopped to repair: but the repairs were as treacherous as the original fabric; for, before the end of the ſtage, it again broke, and we were delayed ſome hours at Yedrovo before we could venture to continue our journey. We now thought ourſelves bleſſed with the aſſiſtance of a very maſterly mechanic, as his workmanſhip laſted to Zimagor, a ſmall village, prettily ſituated upon the borders of the lake Valdai. The ſurrounding country is the moſt agreeable and diverſified which we traverſed ſince our departure from Moſcow. It riſes into gentle eminences, and abounds with beautiful lakes, prettily ſprinkled with woody iſlands, and ſkirted with foreſt, corn-fields, and paſtures. The largeſt of theſe lakes is called Valdai, and ſeems about twenty miles in circumference;

ference; in the middle is an iſland containing a convent, which riſes with its numerous ſpires among cluſters of ſurrounding trees *. Valdai, which gives its name to the lake, and to the range of hills, contains ſeveral new brick buildings, and even the wooden houſes are more decorated than the generality of Ruſſian cottages: it lies upon an agreeable ſlope, and commands a pleaſant view of the lake. The Valdai hills, though of no conſiderable elevation, are the higheſt in this part of the country; and ſeparate the waters which flow towards the Caſpian from thoſe which take their courſe to the Baltic. From their termination, the country was no longer diverſified with hill and dale, and enlivened with lakes; but preſented an uniform flat, with a vaſt extent of moraſs.

On the 24th, in the afternoon, we arrived at Bronitza, a village upon the Maſta, within twenty miles of Novogorod. We took up our abode in the houſe of a Ruſſian prieſt, which in no wiſe differed from the other buildings. It was however clean and comfortable; having a chimney, and being provided with plenty of wooden and earthen utenſils. The prieſt, not being attired in his clerical habit, was dreſſed like the peaſants, and only diſtinguiſhed by his long and flowing

* In this convent the unfortunate Ivan, who was depoſed by Elizabeth, ſuffered a temporary confinement. See book V. chap. 2.

hair.

hair. He, his wife, and the reſt of the family, were buſily employed in extracting the roe from large quantities of fiſh, which are caught in the Maſta, and with which an excellent caviare is prepared. Having obtained from our landlady the choiceſt of theſe fiſh, and procured in the village a brace of ptarmigans, a bird of the partridge ſpecies, we ſauntered out, while ſupper was preparing, towards a neighbouring hill, which attracted our attention.

Two miles from the village, in the middle of a vaſt plain, riſes, in a circular form, an inſulated hill of ſand and clay; the lower parts are thickly ſtrewed with detached pieces of red and grey granite, ſimilar to many others which appear about the adjacent country. I meaſured one of theſe maſſes, and found it twelve feet broad, eight thick, and five above the ſurface of the ground *.

On the ſummit ſtands a brick white-waſhed church, which is a pleaſing object from the adjacent grounds †. From the top we had a ſingular and extenſive proſpect. Beneath, the country is ſomewhat open, and divided into large encloſures of paſture and corn; towards the ſouth

* See ſome curious conjectures upon theſe granite ſtones of Bronitza, in Pallas's Travels; and alſo in Hiſtoire des Decouvertes dans pluſieurs Contrées de la Ruſſie, &c. vol. I. p. 42, &c.

† This eminence was remarkable, in the times of idolatry, for an oracular temple, built in the place now occupied by the church.

riſe

riſe the Valdai hills, ſkirting an immenſe plain, which ſtretches towards the north, eaſt, and weſt, as far as the eye can reach; a vaſt expanſe without a ſingle hillock to obſtruct the view: it ſeemed an endleſs foreſt, dotted with a few ſolitary wooden villages, which appeared ſo many points in a boundleſs deſert. Beyond, at a great diſtance, we obſerved the ſpires of Novogorod, and the lake Ilmen ſcarcely diſcernible through the thick gloom of the trees.

The forwardneſs of the harveſt in this northern climate has been already mentioned: it had been ſome time taken in, and the new corn was ſpringing up in many places. The corn remains, during winter, buried under ſnow; at the melting of which, in ſpring, it ſhoots up ſpeedily in theſe countries, where vegetation is rapid, on the returning warmth of the ſeaſon. But as the ſhortneſs of the ſummer does not always allow the grain time to ripen, the peaſants uſe the following method of drying it. They raiſe a wooden building, without windows, ſimilar to the ſhell of the cottages: under this ſtructure is a large cavity, in which, a fire being made, the corn is laid upon the floor and dried; it is then hung upon frames in the open air, and afterwards threſhed.

In this part of our journey, we paſſed number-

leſs herds of oxen, moving towards Peterſburgh; moſt of them were driven from the Ukraine, the neareſt part of which country is diſtant 800 miles from the metropolis. During this long progreſs the drivers ſeldom enter any houſe; they feed their cattle upon the ſlips of paſture on each ſide of the road, and have no other ſhelter in bad weather than the foliage of the trees. In the evening the ſtill ſilence of the country was interrupted by the occaſional lowing of the oxen, and carols of the drivers; while the ſolitary gloom of the foreſt was enlivened with the glare of numerous fires, ſurrounded by different groups of herdſmen in various attitudes: ſome were ſitting round the flame, ſome employed in dreſſing their proviſions, and others ſleeping upon the bare ground. They reſembled, in dreſs and manners, a rambling horde of Tartars.

The route from Moſcow to Peterſburgh is continued during a ſpace of 500 miles, almoſt in a ſtraight line cut through the foreſt, and is extremely tedious: on each ſide the trees are cleared to the breadth of forty or fifty paces; and the whole way runs chiefly through endleſs tracts of wood, only broken by villages, round which, to a ſmall diſtance, the grounds are open and cultivated.

The road is of an equal breadth, and formed

by trunks * of trees laid tranſverſely, and bound down in the center, and at each extremity, by long poles, or beams, faſtened into the ground with wooden pegs; theſe trunks are covered with layers of boughs, and the whole is ſtrewed over with ſand or earth. When the road is new, it is remarkably good; but as the trunks decay or ſink into the ground, and as the ſand or earth is worn away or waſhed off by the rain, it is broken into innumerable holes; and the jolting of the carriage over the bare timber can better be conceived than deſcribed. In many places the road is a perpetual ſucceſſion of ridges, and the motion of the carriage a continual concuſſion, much greater than I ever experienced over the rougheſt pavement.

The villages which occaſionally line this route are extremely ſimilar, conſiſting uſually of a ſingle ſtreet, with wooden cottages; a few only being diſtinguiſhed by brick houſes. The cottages in theſe parts are ſuperior to thoſe between

* Mr. Hanway makes a curious calculation of the number of trees employed to make a road of 150 verſts. "Allowing one tree with another to be 9 inches diameter, and the length 23 feet, and ſuppoſing the foundation and ſides to be only half ſo many more as the bridge is compoſed of, and the road to be 46 feet wide, here is an expence of 2,100,000 trees." Hanway's Travels, vol. I. p. 92. If we extend this calculation over the whole Ruſſian empire, reaching 4000 miles in length, and take in the different croſs-roads, the expence of wood muſt be amazing, but the foreſts are alſo boundleſs and inexhauſtible.

Tolitzan and Moſcow: they ſeemed, indeed, well ſuited to a rigorous climate, and although conſtructed in the rudeſt manner, are comfortable habitations. The ſite of each building is an oblong ſquare, incloſed by a high wooden wall, with a penthouſe roof, and appears on the outſide like a large barn. In one angle of this incloſure ſtands the houſe, fronting the ſtreet of the village, with the ſtair-caſe on the outſide, and the door opening underneath the penthouſe roof: it contains one, or at moſt two rooms.

I have frequently obſerved, that beds are by no means uſual in this country; inſomuch that, in all the cottages I entered in Ruſſia, I only obſerved two, each of which contained two women at different ends with their clothes on. The family ſlept generally upon the benches, on the ground, or over the ſtove*; occaſionally men, women, and children, promiſcuouſly, without diſcrimination of ſex or condition, and frequently almoſt in a ſtate of nature. In ſome cottages I obſerved a kind of ſhelf, about ſix or ſeven feet from the ground, carried from one end of the room to the other; to which were faſtened ſeveral tranſverſe planks, and upon theſe ſome of the family ſlept with their heads and feet occaſionally

* The ſtove is a kind of brick oven; it occupies almoſt a quarter of the room, and is flat at top.

hanging

hanging down, and appearing to us, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch places of repoſe, as if on the point of falling to the ground. The number of perſons, thus crowded into a ſmall ſpace, ſometimes amounting to twenty, added to the heat of the ſtove, rendered the room intolerably warm, and produced a ſuffocating ſmell, which nothing but uſe enabled us to ſupport. This inconvenience was ſtill more diſagreeable in the cottages not provided with chimnies, where the ſmoke loaded the atmoſphere with additional impurities. If we opened the lattices to admit freſh air, ſuch an influx of cold wind ruſhed into the room, that we preferred the heat and effluvia to the keenneſs of the northern blaſts.

In the midſt of every room hangs from the cieling a veſſel of holy water, and a lamp, lighted on particular occaſions. Every houſe is provided with a picture of a ſaint coarſely daubed on wood, which frequently reſembles more a Calmuc idol, than a human head: to this the people pay the higheſt marks of veneration. All the members of the family, the moment they roſe in the morning, and before they retired to ſleep in the evening, never omitted their adoration to the ſaint: they croſſed themſelves during ſeveral minutes upon the ſides and forehead, bowed very low, and ſometimes even proſ-

trated themſelves on the ground. Every peaſant alſo, on entering the room, paid his obeiſance to this object of worſhip, before he addreſſed himſelf to the family.

The peaſants, in their common intercourſe, are remarkably polite to each other: they take off their cap at meeting, bow ceremoniouſly and frequently, and uſually exchange a ſalute. They accompany their ordinary diſcourſe with much action and innumerable geſtures, and are exceedingly ſervile in their expreſſions of deference to their ſuperiors: in accoſting a perſon of conſequence, they proſtrate themſelves, and even touch the ground with their heads. We were often ſtruck at receiving this kind of eaſtern homage, not only from beggars, but frequently from children, and occaſionally from ſome of the peaſants themſelves.

In the appearance of the common people, nothing ſurpriſed us more than the enormous thickneſs of their legs, which we at firſt conceived to be their real dimenſions; but the bulk, which created our aſtoniſhment, proceeded from the coverings with which they ſwaddle their legs, in ſummer as well as winter. Beſide one or two pair of thick worſted ſtockings, they envelop their legs with wrappers of coarſe flannel or cloth, ſeveral feet in length, and over theſe frequently draw

draw a pair of boots, ſo large as to receive their bulky contents with the utmoſt facility.

The peaſants are well clothed, comfortably lodged, and ſeem to enjoy plenty of wholeſome food. The rye-bread, whoſe blackneſs at firſt diſguſts the eye, and whoſe ſourneſs the taſte, of a delicate traveller, agrees well with the appetite; but as I became reconciled to it from uſe, I found it no unpleaſant morſel: this bread is rendered more palatable by ſtuffing it with onions and groats, carrots, or green corn, and ſeaſoning it with oil. The other articles of their food I have enumerated on a former occaſion, in addition to which I ſhall only obſerve, that muſhrooms are ſo exceedingly common in theſe regions, as to form a very eſſential part of their proviſion. I ſeldom entered a cottage without ſeeing great abundance; and in paſſing through the markets, was often aſtoniſhed at the prodigious quantity expoſed for ſale: the variety was no leſs remarkable than the number; they were of many colours, amongſt which I particularly noticed white, black, brown, yellow, green, and pink. The common drink of the peaſants is quaſs, a fermented liquor, ſomewhat like ſweet-wort, made by pouring warm water on rye or barley-meal and deemed an excellent antiſcorbutic. They are extremely fond of whiſky, a ſpirituous liquor diſtilled from malt, which the pooreſt can

occaſionally command, and which they often uſe to great exceſs.

The backwardneſs of the Ruſſian peaſants in the mechanical arts, when compared with thoſe of the other European nations, is viſible to a ſuperficial obſerver. As we approached Peterſburgh, and nearer the civilized parts of Europe, the villagers were better furniſhed with the conveniences of life, and further advanced in the knowledge of the neceſſary arts, than thoſe who fell under our notice between Tolitzin and Moſcow. The planks were leſs frequently hewn with the axe, and ſaw-pits, which we had long conſidered as objects of curioſity, oftener occurred: the cottages were more ſpacious and convenient, provided with larger windows, and generally had chimnies; they were alſo more amply ſtored with houſhold furniture, and with wooden, and ſometimes even earthen utenſils. Still, however, their progreſs towards civilization is very inconſiderable, and many inſtances of the groſſeſt barbariſm fell under our obſervation.

The inhabitants of different villages on the roads, who furniſh poſt horſes, are called *yamſhics*, and enjoy ſome peculiar privileges. They are obliged to ſupply all couriers and travellers at a moderate price, in the deareſt parts at 1 ½*d.* and in many other parts at ½*d.* per

verſt

verſt * for each horſe; and, in compenſation, are exempted from the poll-tax, and ſupplying recruits: notwithſtanding theſe immunities, the price they receive for their horſes is ſo inconſiderable, that they frequently produce them with the greateſt reluctance. The inſtant a traveller demands a ſupply of freſh horſes, the yamſhics aſſemble in crowds, and frequently wrangle to ſuch a degree, as to afford amuſement to a perſon who is not impatient to depart. Their ſquabbles on this occaſion have ſtruck all travellers who have given any account of this country. Chanceler, the firſt Engliſhman who landed at Archangel, and went from thence to Moſcow, could not fail to obſerve this circumſtance, which equally prevailed at that period as at preſent †. "Expreſſe commandement was given, that poſt-horſes ſhould bee gotten for him, and the reſt of his company, without any money. Which thing was, of all the Ruſſes in the reſt of their journey, ſo willingly done, that they began to quarrel, yea, and to fight alſo, in ſtriving and contending which of them ſhould put their poſt-horſes to the ſledde."

In this deſcription, however, Chanceler has made a ludicrous miſtake; for the object of their

* Three quarters of a mile. The price however has been ſince increaſed.

† Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. I. p. 247.

ſquabbles

ſquabbles was not to obtain, but to decline, the honour of furniſhing him with horſes. The ſame ſcene is often renewed at preſent, and the poſt-maſter not unuſually ſettles the intricate conteſt by compelling the yamſhics to draw lots. Indeed, as I have before remarked, it is abſolutely neceſſary for a foreigner, who wiſhes to travel with expedition, not only to provide himſelf with a paſſport, but alſo to procure a Ruſſian ſoldier, who inſtead of attending to the arguments of the peaſants, or waiting for the ſlow mediation of the poſt-maſter, ſummarily decides the buſineſs by the powerful interpoſition of his cudgel. The boors, quickly *ſilenced* by this *dumb mode* of *argumentation* *, find no difficulty in adjuſting their pretenſions, and the horſes almoſt inſtantly make their appearance.

In our route through Ruſſia I was ſurpriſed at the propenſity of the natives to ſinging. Even the peaſants who acted in the capacity of coachmen and poſtilions, were no ſooner mounted than they began to warble an air, and continued it, without the leaſt intermiſſion, for ſeveral hours. But what ſtill more aſtoniſhed me was, that they performed occaſionally in parts; I frequently obſerved them engaged in a kind of muſical dialogue, making reciprocal queſtions

* Argumentum baculinum.

and

and reſponſes, as if chanting (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) their ordinary converſation. The poſtilions *ſing*, from the beginning to the end of a ſtage; the ſoldiers *ſing* during their march; the countrymen *ſing* amid the moſt laborious occupations; the public-houſes re-echo with their carols; and in a ſtill evening I have frequently heard the air vibrate with the notes of the ſurrounding villages.

An ingenious author *, long reſident in Ruſſia, who turned his attention to the ſtudy of the national muſic, gives the following information upon this ſubject. The general muſic that prevails among the common people in Ruſſia, from the Duna to the Amoor and the Frozen Ocean, conſiſts in one ſpecies of ſimple melody, which admits of infinite variation, according to the ability of the ſinger, or the cuſtom of the ſeveral provinces in this extenſive empire. The words of the ſongs are moſtly in proſe, and often extempore, according to the immediate invention or recollection of the ſinger; perhaps an antient legend, the hiſtory of an enormous giant, a deſcription of a beautiful girl, a dialogue between a lover and his miſtreſs, or the account of a murder. Sometimes they are merely letters and ſyllables taken from an old ac-

* Staehlin. See his Nacrichten von der Muſik in Ruſsland, in Haygold's Beylagen, vol. II. p. 60 to 65; where ſpecimens of this air are given.

cidence,

cidence, metrically arranged, and adapted to this general air. Theſe words are chiefly uſed by mothers in ſinging to their children; while the boors, perform their national dance to the ſame tune, accompanied with inſtrumental muſic. The ſubject of the ſong alſo frequently alludes to the adventures of the ſinger, or to his preſent ſituation; and the peaſants adapt the topics of their common diſcourſe, and their diſputes with each other, to this general air; which, altogether, forms an extraordinary effect, and led me to conjecture, that they chanted their ordinary converſation.

CHAP. II.

Novogorod.—Antiquity, power, grandeur, independence, decline, ſubjection, and downfal.—Preſent ſtate.—Cathedral of St. Sophia.—Early introduction of painting into Ruſſia.—Price of proviſions.—Incidents of the journey to Peterſburgh.

AT Bronitza we croſſed the Maſta upon a raft compoſed of ſeven or eight trees rudely joined together, which ſcarcely afforded room for the carriage and two horſes. We then continued our route, through a level country, to the banks of the Volkovetz, or little Volkof, which we paſſed in a ferry; and, after mounting a gentle riſe, deſcended into the open marſhy plain of paſture, which reaches, without interruption, to the walls of Novogorod. That town, at a ſmall diſtance, exhibited a moſt magnificent appearance, and, from the great number of churches and convents, which on every ſide preſented themſelves to view, announced our approach to a conſiderable city; but our expectations were by no means realized.

No place ever filled me with more melancholy ideas of fallen grandeur, than Novogorod. It is one of the moſt ancient cities in Ruſſia; and was formerly called *Great* Novogorod, to diſtinguiſh it from other Ruſſian towns of a

ſimilar

ſimilar appellation *. According to Neſtor, the earlieſt of the Ruſſian hiſtorians, it was built at the ſame time with Kiof, in the middle of the fifth century, by a Sclavonian horde, who iſſued from the banks of the Volga. Its antiquity is proved by a paſſage in the Gothic hiſtorian, Jornandes; in which it is called Civitas Nova, or New Town †. We have little inſight into its hiſtory before the ninth century, when Ruric, the firſt great-duke of Ruſſia, made it the metropolis of his vaſt dominions. The year ſubſequent to his death, in 879, the ſeat of government was removed, under his ſon Igor then an infant, to Kiof; and Novogorod continued, above a century, under the juriſdiction of governors nominated by the great-dukes. At length, in 970, Svatoſlaf, the ſon of Igor, created his third ſon Vlodimir duke of Novogorod: Vlodimir, ſucceeding his father in the throne of Ruſſia, ceded the town to his ſon Yaroſlaf; who, in 1036, granted to the inhabitants conſiderable privileges, that laid the foundation of their liberty. From this period Novogorod was for a long time governed by its own dukes: theſe ſovereigns were at firſt ſubordinate

* Niſhnei Novogorod, and Novogorod Severſkoi.

† Sclavini a Civitate Novâ et Sclavino Rumunenſi, et lacu qui appellatur Muſianus, &c. The lake is the Ilmen; and the Civitas Nova, Novogorod. S. R. G. Vol. V. p. 383.

to

to the great-dukes, who reſided at Kiof and Volodimir; but afterwards, as the town increaſed in population and wealth, gradually uſurped an abſolute independency *.

But while they thus ſhook off the yoke of a diſtant lord, they were unable to maintain their authority over their own ſubjects. Although the ſucceſſion continued in the ſame family; yet, as the dukes were elected by the inhabitants, they gradually bartered, as the price of their nomination, all their moſt valuable prerogatives. They were alſo ſo frequently depoſed, that, for near two centuries, the liſt of the dukes reſembles more a calendar of annual magiſtrates, than a regular line of hereditary princes; and, in effect, Novogorod was a republic under the juriſdiction of a nominal ſovereign. The privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants, however unfavourable to the power of the dukes, proved extremely beneficial to the real intereſts of the town: it became the great mart of trade between Ruſſia and the Hanſeatic cities, and made rapid advances in opulence and population. At this period its dominions were ſo extenſive †, its

* S. R. G. Vol. V. p. 397.

† Its territory extended to the north as far as the frontiers of Livonia and Finland, and compriſed great part of the province of Archangel, and a large diſtrict beyond the north-weſtern limits of Siberia.

power

power ſo great, and its ſituation ſo impregnable, as to give aiſe to a proverb, "Who can reſiſt the Gods and Great Novogorod *?"

It continued in this flouriſhing ſtate until the middle of the 15th century, when the great-dukes of Ruſſia, who ſtill retained the title of dukes of Novogorod, having transferred their reſidence from Kiof to Volodimir, and afterwards to Moſcow, laid claim to its feudal ſovereignty; a demand which the inhabitants ſometimes evaded by compoſition, ſometimes by reſiſtance, but were ſometimes compelled to acknowledge. At length, in 1471, Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. having ſecured his dominions againſt the inroads of the Tartars, and extended his empire by the conqueſt of the neighbouring principalities, aſſerted his right to the ſovereignty of Novogorod, and enforced his pretenſions by a formidable army. He vanquiſhed the troops of the republic, and, having forced the citizens to acknowledge his claims, appointed a governor, who was permitted to reſide in the town, and exerciſe the authority formerly veſted in their own dukes †. This power, however, being exceedingly limited, left them in the entire poſſeſſion

* *Quis contra Deos et Magnam Novogardiam?*

† The government was ſimilar to that of the German republics, who acknowledge the emperor as their liege-lord, but are under the juriſdiction of their own magiſtrates.

of

of their moſt valuable immunities: they retained their own laws, choſe their own magiſtrates, and the governor never interfered in public affairs, except by appeal.

Ivan, by no means contented with this limited ſpecies of government, watched a favourable opportunity of extending his authority, and, in 1477, laid ſiege to the town. His deſigns being abetted by internal feuds, the inhabitants were conſtrained to ſubſcribe to the conditions impoſed by the haughty conqueror. The gates were thrown open; the great-duke entered the place in the character of ſovereign, and the people, tendering the oath of allegiance, delivered into his hands the charter of their liberties, which unanimity would ſtill have preſerved inviolate. One circumſtance, recorded by hiſtorians as a proof of unconditional ſubjection, was the removal of an enormous bell from Novogorod to Moſcow, denominated by the inhabitants *eternal*, and revered as the palladium of their liberty and the ſymbol of their privileges. It was ſuſpended in the market-place; the ſacred ſound drew the people inſtantly from the moſt remote parts, and tolled the ſignal of foreign danger or inteſtine tumult. The great-duke peremptorily demanded this object of public veneration, which he called "*The larum of ſedition*;" and the inhabitants conſider-

ed its ſurrender as the ſure prelude of departing liberty.

From this period the great-duke became in effect abſolute ſovereign of Novogorod, although the oſtenſible forms of government were ſtill preſerved: to enſure the obedience of his new ſubjects, he tranſplanted above a thouſand of the principal citizens to Moſcow and other towns; and ſecured the Kremlin of Novogorod, with ſtrong walls of brick. Notwithſtanding the deſpotiſm to which the inhabitants were ſubject, and the oppreſſion which they experienced from Ivan and his ſucceſſors; yet Novogorod ſtill continued the largeſt and moſt commercial city in all Ruſſia, as will appear from the deſcription of Richard Chanceler, who paſſed through it in 1554 in his way to Moſcow. "Next unto Moſcow, the city of Novogorod is reputed the chiefeſt of Ruſſia; for although it be in majeſtie inferior to it, yet in greatneſſe it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefeſt and greateſt marte towne of all Moſcovie; and albeit the emperor's ſeate is not there, but at Moſco, yet the commodiouſneſſe of the river, falling into that gulfe which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by merchants, makes it more famous than Moſco itſelf *."

* Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 251.

Its

Its population, during this period, was ſo great, that in 1508, above 15,000 perſons died of an epidemical diſorder *; more than double the number of the preſent inhabitants. In its moſt flouriſhing condition it contained at leaſt 400,000 ſouls †. Under the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. the proſperity of Novogorod experienced a fatal downfal; that monarch having, in 1570, diſcovered a ſecret correſpondence between ſome of the principal inhabitants and Sigiſmond Auguſtus king of Poland, relative to a ſurrender of the city into his hands, puniſhed them in the moſt inhuman manner. He repaired in perſon to Novogorod; and appointed a court of inquiry, juſtly denominated the *tribunal of blood.* Contemporary hiſtorians relate that its proceedings continued during the ſpace of five weeks, and that on each day of this fatal period more than 500 inhabitants fell victims to the vengeance of incenſed deſpotiſm. According to ſome authors, 25,000, according to others, more than 30,000 perſons periſhed in this dreadful carnage. Thoſe writers, who were the czar's enemies, have probably exaggerated the number of theſe exe-

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 494.

† According to Heym, Novogorod, in 1783, contained 61 churches, 6 convents, and, excluſive of 12 public buildings, 1512 houſes, of which only 39 were of brick. The population amounted to 3342 males and 3784 females.

cutions; and it is but juſtice to add, that ſome circumſtances in their relations are unqueſtionably falſe: but though we ought not to give implicit credit to all the accounts recorded by his adverſaries; yet, even by the confeſſion of his apologiſts, there ſtill remains ſufficient evidence of his ſavage ferocity in this barbarous tranſaction, which equals if not ſurpaſſes, in cruelty, the maſſacre at Stockholm under Chriſtian II.

This horrid cataſtrophe and the ſubſequent oppreſſions which the town experienced from that great though ſanguinary prince, impaired its ſtrength; and it is deſcribed as a place of deſolation by Uhlfield, the Daniſh embaſſador. But although the ſplendour of this once flouriſhing town received a conſiderable diminution; yet it was not totally obſcured until the foundation of Peterſburgh, whither Peter the Great transferred all the commerce of the Baltic, which before centered in Novogorod.

The preſent town is ſurrounded by a rampart of earth, with a range of old towers at regular diſtances, forming a circumference of ſcarcely a mile and an half; and even this inconſiderable circle includes much open ſpace, and many houſes which are not inhabited. As Novogorod was built after the manner of the antient towns of this country, in the Aſiatic ſtyle, this rampart, like that of the Semlainogorod at Moſ-

cow, probably encloſed ſeveral interior circles: without it was a vaſt extenſive ſuburb, which reached to the diſtance of ſix miles, and included all the convents and churches, the antient ducal palace and other ſtructures, that now make a ſpleńdid but ſolitary appearance, in the adjacent plain.

Novogorod ſtretches on both ſides of the Volkof, a beautiful river of conſiderable depth and rapidity, and ſomewhat broader than the Thames at Windſor. This river ſeparates the town into two diviſions; the Trading Part, and the Quarter of St. Sophia, which are united by means of a bridge, partly of wood and partly of brick.

The firſt diviſion, or the Trading Part, is, excepting the governor's houſe, a rude cluſter of wooden habitations, and in no other reſpect diſtinguiſhed from the common villages than by numerous brick churches and convents, melancholy monuments of former magnificence. In all parts I was ſtruck with theſe remains of ruined grandeur; while half-cultivated fields encloſed within high paliſadoes, and large ſpaces covered with nettles, atteſted preſent deſolation. Towards its extremity a brick edifice, and ſeveral detached ſtructures of the ſame materials, erected at the empreſs's expence, for a manufacture of ropes and ſails, exhibited a ſplendid figure when contraſted with the ſurrounding hovels.

The oppoſite diviſion, denominated the Quarter of St. Sophia, derives its appellation from the cathedral, and comprehends the fortreſs or Kremlin erected for the purpoſe of curbing the inhabitants, and preventing frequent inſurrections. It is of an oval form, and ſurrounded by a high brick wall, ſtrengthened with round and ſquare towers: the wall is ſimilar to that which encloſes the Kremlin at Moſcow, and was alſo built in 1490 by the Italian architect Solario of Milan, at the order of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. ſoon after the conqueſt of Novogorod. The fortreſs contains the cathedral of St. Sophia, the old archiepiſcopal manſion with the ſtair-caſe on the outſide, part of a new palace not finiſhed, and a few other brick buildings; but the remaining ſpace is a waſte, overſpread with weeds and nettles, and covered with ruins.

The cathedral of St. Sophia, one of the moſt antient churches in Ruſſia, was begun in 1044 by Vlodimir Yaroſlavitch duke of Novogorod, and completed in 1051 *. It was probably conſtructed ſoon after Chriſtianity was introduced into Ruſſia by the Greeks, and called St. Sophia, from the church of that name in Conſtan-

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 398. A wooden church of the ſame name was conſtructed about the year 1000 by Joachim, the firſt biſhop of Novogorod, on the ſpot where this cathedral now ſtands. Ibid. p. 394.

tinople.

tinople. It is a high ſquare building, with a gilded cupola, and four tin domes. We entered this venerable pile through a pair of brazen gates ornamented with various figures in alto relievo, repreſenting the Paſſion of our Saviour, and other ſcriptural hiſtories. According to tradition, theſe gates were brought from the antient town of Cherſon, where Vlodimir the Great was baptized, are ſuppoſed to be of Grecian workmanſhip, and are in conſequence of this perſuaſion called Korſunſkie Dveri, the doors of Cherſon. But if we admit the truth of this tradition, how ſhall we account for the Latin characters with which they are inſcribed.

p. e. WICMANNVS MEGIDEBVRGENSIS
ALEXANDER epe DEBLVCICH.
AVE MARIA GPACIA PLEHS DHS TECVGI.

The firſt part of this inſcription ſeems to prove rather, that they came from Magdeburgh in Germany; a circumſtance by no means improbable, as the inhabitants of Novogorod maintained, in thoſe early times, a no leſs frequent intercourſe with Germany than with Greece.

In the inſide of this cathedral are twelve maſſy piers white-waſhed, which, as well as the walls, are thickly covered with the repreſentations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and of various ſaints. Some of theſe paintings are of

very high antiquity, and probably anterior to the revival of the art in Italy. Many of the figures are finiſhed in a *hard flat ſtyle* of colouring upon a *gold ground*, and exactly ſimilar to thoſe of the Greek artiſts, by whom, according to Vaſari, painting was firſt introduced into Italy.

Towards the latter end of the 13th century, ſome Greek artiſts invited to Florence, painted a chapel in the church of Santa Maria Novella. Although their deſign and colouring were *hard and flat*, and they chiefly repreſented the figures on *a field of gold;* yet there productions were much admired in that ignorant century. Cimabue, who was then a boy, ſtruck with their performance, was accuſtomed to paſs all the time he could ſteal from ſchool in contemplating the progreſs of their work. His enthuſiaſm being thus kindled, he turned his whole attention to the ſtudy of an art to which his genius ſeemed inclined. His firſt compoſitions had all the defects of the maſters whom he imitated; but he gradually improved as he advanced, and laid the firſt rude foundation of that aſtoniſhing excellence which the ſchools of Italy afterwards attained.

As painting was brought into Italy from the Greek empire, when there was ſcarcely any connection between thoſe two countries, we may be

be well aſſured it was introduced at a more early period into Ruſſia, from the ſame quarter; not only becauſe a conſtant intercourſe had been long maintained between the great-dukes and emperors of Conſtantinople, and becauſe the patriarch was formerly the head of the church eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia; but likewiſe becauſe the Ruſſians, being converted to Chriſtianity by the Greeks, were accuſtomed, after their example, to decorate their temples with various figures, and muſt have received from them many portraits of ſaints, which form in their religion a neceſſary part of divine worſhip. We may conclude, therefore, that the cathedral of St. Sophia, which was built in the 11th century, and is one of the moſt antient churches of Ruſſia, was ornamented with the figures of ſaints by Greek artiſts, whom the great-dukes of Novogorod drew from Conſtantinople. The repreſentations in queſtion, indeed, are ſuch mere daubings, as not to deſerve a particular inquiry, if it did not aſſiſt in illuſtrating the progreſs of the liberal arts, and aſcertaining the early introduction of painting into this country, at a period when it was probably unknown even in Italy *.

* Jam diu pingunt Rutheni, et quis credat? ſeculo duodecimo, ſays Falconi.—See Eſſai ſur la Bib. &c. p. 19.

Several

Several princes of the ducal family of Ruſſia are interred in this cathedral. The firſt is Vlodimir Yaroſlavitch, who was born in 1020, died in 1051 *, and buried in this church, which he had juſt completed. Beſides his tomb, are thoſe of his mother Anne, daughter of the eaſtern emperor Romanus, his wife Alexandra, his brother Micſliſlaf, and, laſtly, of Feodor, brother of Alexander Nevſki, who died in 1228. The moſt antient of theſe ſepulchres are of carved wood gilt, ſilvered, and ſurrounded with iron rails; the others are of brick and mortar. Within the ſanctuary the walls are covered with Moſaic compartments, of coarſe workmanſhip, but curious from their antiquity.

Our landlord is a German; and his inn, though ſmall, one of the moſt commodious we had hitherto met with in Ruſſia: it was neatly furniſhed, and afforded beds, an article of ſingular luxury in this country, which we had no ſmall difficulty to procure even in the city of Moſcow.

By the aſſiſtance of our landlord we obtained the price of proviſions in theſe parts ‡:

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Butcher's meat per Ruſſian pound † -		1½	to	0	2
Black bread per ditto - - -		-½			
White common ditto - - -		1			

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 399.

† A Ruſſian pound — 14½ Engliſh ounces.

‡ 1778.

French

	s.	d.	s.	d.
French ditto		2		
Butter ditto		4		
Ten eggs from		1½	to 0	5
Pair of fowls from	1	3	to 1	8
Fatted gooſe	1	-		
Couple of wild ducks		6		
Tame ditto	1	3		
Brace of Partridges		10		
Black game, cock and hen	1	6		
Hare		7½		
Quart of milk		1½		
Beſt ſpirituous liquors per quart	1	5½		
Worſt ſort		8¾		
Pair of peaſant's leather ſhoes	1	3		
Boots	4	10		
Round hat	1	3		
Peaſant's ſhirt, no collar or wriſt-band, and very ſhort.	1	3		

Our coach being much ſhattered by the bad roads, we left it at Novogorod, and continued our journey in *kibitkas*, the common carriages of the country. A *kibitka* is a ſmall cart, capable of containing two perſons abreaſt, while the driver ſits upon the further extremity cloſe to the horſes' tails. It is about five feet in length, and the hinder half is covered with a ſemi-circular tilt, open in front like the top of a cradle, made of laths interwoven and covered with birch or beech-bark. There is not a piece of iron in the whole machine. It has no ſprings, and is faſtened by means of wooden pins, ropes, and ſticks, to the body of the carriage. The

Ruſſians,

Ruſſians, when they travel in theſe kibitkas, place a feather-bed in the bottom, admirably calculated to break the intolerable jolts and concuſſions, occaſioned by the uneven timber roads. With this precaution a *kibitka*, though inferior in ſplendour, equals in comfort the moſt commodious vehicle. The traveller ſtretches himſelf at length upon the feather-bed, and, if inclined, may doſe away the journey in perfect tranquillity. But being novices in the method of equipping this ſpecies of conveyance, we ſuffered a layer of trunks and other hard baggage to be ſubſtituted in the place of feather-beds: theſe ſubſtances, ſo much more bulky, and ſo much leſs yielding than down, obliged us either to ſit under the tilt in a ſloping poſture, or upon the narrow edge of the carriage; in the alternate enjoyment of which delectable poſitions, we paſſed twelve hours without intermiſſion, and with no refreſhment. Thoſe who have ever regaled themſelves amidſt a pile of looſe trunks and boxes in the baſket of a heavy-laden ſtage coach, over the rougheſt pavement, would eſteem that mode of conveyance luxury to what we experienced. Our impatience, however, to reach Peterſburgh beguiled in ſome meaſure the bruiſes we received from our *kibitkas* and their contents, and induced us to perſevere in our route till after ten at night; when, being depoſited in a ſmall village,

lage, I had ſcarcely ſtrength remaining to crawl to ſome freſh ſtraw ſpread for our beds in the corner of an unfurniſhed inn. With the comforts of this delightful place of repoſe I was ſo enamoured, that I could not be prevailed upon to relinquiſh it even for a few minutes, for the enjoyment of an excellent ragout prepared by our ſervant, which a conſtant faſting ſince nine in the morning tended greatly to recommend.

A tolerable night's reſt, and the proſpect of only fifty miles between us and Peterſburgh, induced us to re-aſſume our former ſtations, and to brave a repetition of our fatigue. The country we paſſed through was ill calculated to alleviate our ſufferings, by transferring our attention from ourſelves to the ſurrounding objects. Excepting the environs of Novogorod, which were tolerably open, the road made of timber, and as ſtraight as an arrow, ran through a perpetual foreſt, without the leaſt intermixture of hill or dale, and with few ſlips of cultivated ground. Through this dreary extent, the gloomy uniformity of the foreſt was only broken by a few ſolitary villages at long diſtances from each other, without the intervention of a ſingle houſe. Itchora, the laſt village at which we changed horſes, though but 20 miles from the capital, was ſmall and wretched, and the adjacent country as inhoſpitable and unpeopled

peopled as that we had already paſſed. About ten miles from Itchora we ſuddenly turned to the right, and the ſcene inſtantly brightened: the woods gave way to cultivation, the country began to be enlivened with houſes, the inequalities of the timber road were ſucceeded by the level of a ſpacious cauſeway equal to the fineſt turnpikes of England, the end of each verſt * was marked with ſuperb mile-ſtones of granite and marble, and a long avenue of trees was cloſed at the diſtance of a few miles with a view of Peterſburgh, the object of our wiſhes, and the termination of our labours.

* Throughout all the high roads of Ruſſia, each verſt (or three quarters of a mile) is marked by a wooden poſt, about twelve feet in height, painted red.

References.
A. Admiralty Quarter.
B. Iland of St. Petersburgh.
C. Vassili Ostrof.
D. Suburbs of Vassili Ostrof.
E. Suburbs of Livonia.
F. Suburbs of Moscow.
G. Suburbs of St. Alexander Neveski.
a. Admiralty.
b. Imperial Palace.
c. Equestrian Statue of Peter the Great.
d. Academy of Arts.
e. Corps de Cadets.
f. Convent des Demoiselles Nobles.
g. Market.
h. Cathedral.
i. Academy of Sciences.
k. Barracks for the 3 Reg.ts of Foot Guards.
l. Church of St. Isaac.
m. Moika R.
n. Canal of Catharine.
o. Fontanka R.
p. Globe of Gottorp.
q. Botanick Garden.
r. Summer Palace & Garden.
s. English Chapel.
t. Hospital for the Sea & Land Forces.
u. St. Alexander Neveski's Monastery.
w. Garden to the Corps of Cadets.
1 Verst
1 2 3 4 500 Fathoms.
1 English Mile.
Little Neva River
Karpovka River
Suburbs of Wiburgh
Little Neva
Great Neva River
Forests
Galley Haven
GULF OF FINLAND
Fontanka River
A PLAN of the CITY of ST. PETERSBURGH.
Published March 26. 1784 according to Act of Parliam.t by I. Cadell in the Strand.
Tho.s Kitchin Sen.r Sculp.t

CHAP. III.

Juſtification of Peter the Great for transferring the ſeat of empire from Moſcow to St. Petersburgh.—Deſcription of the new metropolis.—Foundation and progreſs.—Circumference and population.—Inundations of the Neva.—Remarkable flood in 1777.—Bridge of Pontoons.—Plan for a bridge of a ſingle arch acroſs the Neva.—Coloſſal ſtatue of Peter the Great.—Account of the pedeſtal, and its conveyance to Peterſburgh.—General obſervations on the weather during the winter.—Precautions againſt the cold.—Diverſions and winter ſcenes upon the Neva.—Ice-hills.—Annual fair.

SAINT Petersburgh is ſituated in the latitude of 59° 56′ 23″ north, and longitude 30° 25′ eaſt, from the meridian of Greenwich. It ſtands upon the Neva, near the Gulph of Finland, and is built partly on ſome iſlands in the mouth of that river, and partly on the continent. The principal diviſions are: 1. The Admiralty quarter; 2. The Vaſſili Oſtrof*; 3. The fortreſs; 4. The Iſland of St. Peterſburgh; and 5. The various ſuburbs, called the ſuburbs of Livonia, of Moſcow, of Alexander Nevſki, and of Wiburgh. Their reſpective ſituations will be better explained by the annexed plan of the town, than by the moſt elaborate deſcription.

* Oſtrof ſignifies Iſland.

Peter

Peter the Great incurred conſiderable cenſure for transferring the ſeat of empire from Moſcow to Peterſburgh: it has been urged, with ſome degree of plauſibility, that he was in effect more an Aſiatic than an European ſovereign; that Moſcow, lying nearer to the center of his dominions, was better calculated for the imperial reſidence; and that, by removing his capital, he neglected the interior provinces, and ſacrificed every conſideration to his predilection for the ſettlements upon the Baltic.

But although Peterſburgh is ſituated at the extremity of Ruſſia, he did not neglect any other part of his vaſt dominions. On the contrary, he was no leſs attentive to his Aſiatic than to his European provinces: his repeated negotiations with the Chineſe, his campaigns againſt the Turks, and his conqueſt of the Perſian provinces, which border upon the Caſpian, prove the truth of this aſſertion. It is no leſs obvious, that Europe was the quarter from whence the greateſt danger to his throne impended; that the Swedes were his moſt formidable enemies, and from them the very exiſtence of his empire was threatened with annihilation. It was not by leading his troops againſt the deſultory bands of Turks or Perſians, that he acquired a ſolid military force; but by training them to endure the firm attack of regular battalions, and to learn to conquer

from

from repeated defeats: with this deſign, the nearer he fixed his ſeat to the borders of Sweden, whoſe veterans had long been the terror of the north, the more readily his troops would imbibe their military ſpirit, and learn their well-regulated manœuvres. Add to this, that the protection of the new commerce, which he opened through the Baltic, depended upon the creation and maintenance of a naval force, which required his immediate and almoſt continual inſpection. To this circumſtance alone is owing the rapid and reſpectable riſe of the Ruſſian power, its preponderance in the north, and political importance in the ſcale of Europe. In a word, had not Peter transferred the ſeat of government to the ſhores of the Baltic, the Ruſſian navy had never rode triumphant in the Turkiſh ſeas; and Catharine II. had never ſtood forth the arbitreſs of the north, and the mediatrix * of Europe.

The internal improvement of the Ruſſian empire, the great object of Peter's reign, was conſiderably advanced by approaching the capital to the more civilized parts of Europe: by this means he drew the nobility from their rude magnificence and feudal dignity at Moſcow, to a more immediate dependence upon the ſovereign,

* It muſt be remembered, that Catharine II. mediated the peace of Teſchen, in 1799, between the emperor of Germany and the king of Pruſſia.

to more polished manners, to a greater degree of social intercourse. Nor did any other cause, perhaps, so much tend to promote his plans for the civilization of his subjects, as the removal of the imperial seat from the inland provinces to the Gulf of Finland.

In opposition, therefore, to the censurers of Peter, we cannot but esteem this act as extremely beneficial, and might even venture to assert, that if, by any revolution of Europe, this empire should lose its acquisitions on the Baltic; if the court should repair to Moscow, and maintain a fainter connection with the European powers before an essential reformation in the manners of the people takes place; Russia would soon relapse into her original barbarism, and no traces of the memorable improvements introduced by Peter I. and Catharine II. be found but in the annals of history.

In walking about this metropolis I was filled with astonishment on reflecting, that so late as the beginning of this century, the ground on which Petersburgh now stands was a morass occupied by a few fishermen's huts. The first building of the city is so recent as to be almost remembered by persons now alive; and its gradual progress is traced without difficulty. Peter the Great having wrested Ingria from the Swedes, and advanced the boundaries of his empire to the shores of the Baltic, determined to erect a

fortress

fortreſs upon a ſmall iſland in the mouth of the Neva, for protecting his conqueſts, and opening a new channel of commerce *. As a prelude to this undertaking, a ſmall battery was raiſed on another iſland of the Neva, upon the ſpot now occupied by the Academy of Sciences, and was commanded by Vaſſili Demitrievitch Kotſhmin. All the orders of the emperor ſent to this officer being directed *Vaſſili* na *Oſtrof*, To Vaſſili upon the iſland, this part of the town was called *Vaſſili Oſtrof*, or the Iſland of Vaſſili.

The fortreſs was begun on the 16th of May, 1703; and, notwithſtanding the obſtructions ariſing from the marſhy nature of the ground, and the inexperience of the workmen, a ſmall citadel ſurrounded with a rampart of earth, and ſtrengthened with ſix baſtions, was completed in a ſhort time. An author †, who was in Ruſſia at that period, informs us, "that the labourers were not furniſhed with the neceſſary tools, as pick-axes, ſpades and ſhovels, wheel-barrows, planks, and the like; notwithſtanding which, the work went on with ſuch expedition, that it was ſurpriſing to ſee the fortreſs raiſed within leſs than five months, though the earth, which is very ſcarce thereabouts, was, for the greater

* See Hiſt. Geog. and Top. Beſchreibung der Stadt. S. Pet. in the Journal of St. Pet. for 1779.

† Perry's State of Ruſſia, vol. I. p. 300.

part, carried by the labourers in the ſkirts of their clothes, and in bags made of rags and old mats, the uſe of wheel-barrows being then unknown to them."

Within the fortreſs a few wooden habitations were erected. For his own immediate reſidence Peter alſo ordered, in the beginning of 1703, a ſmall hut to be raiſed in an adjacent iſland, which he called the iſland of St. Peterſburgh, and from which the new metropolis has derived its name: this hut was low and ſmall, and is ſtill preſerved in memory of the ſovereign who condeſcended to dwell in it. Near it was ſoon afterwards conſtructed another wooden habitation, but larger and more commodious, in which prince Mentchikof reſided, and gave audience to foreign miniſters. At a ſmall diſtance was an inn, much frequented by the courtiers and perſons of all ranks; to which Peter frequently repaired on Sundays after divine ſervice; and carouſed with his ſuite and others who happened to be preſent, as ſpectators of the fire-works and diverſions, exhibited by his orders.

On the 30th of May, 1706, Peter demoliſhed the ſmall citadel, and began the foundation of the new fortreſs on the ſame ſpot. In 1710, count Golovkin built the firſt edifice of brick, and in the following year the tzar, with his own hand, laid the foundation of a houſe, to be erected

with

with the ſame materials *. From theſe ſmall beginnings roſe the preſent metropolis of Ruſſia; and in leſs than nine years, the ſeat of empire was transferred from Moſcow to Peterſburgh.

The deſpotic authority and zeal of Peter for the improvement of the new capital, will appear from his mandates. In 1714 he enjoined, that all buildings upon the iſland of St. Peterſburgh, and in the Admiralty Quarter, particularly thoſe on the banks of the Neva, ſhould be conſtructed after the German manner with timber and brick; that the nobility and principal merchants ſhould be obliged to have houſes in Peterſburgh; that every large veſſel navigating to the city ſhould bring 30 ſtones, every ſmall one 10, and every peaſant's waggon three, towards the conſtruction of the bridges and other public works, that the roofs of the houſes ſhould be no longer covered with birch planks and bark, ſo dangerous in caſe of fire, but with tiles or clods of earth. In 1716 a regular plan † for the new city was approved by Peter; the principal part of the new metropolis was to be ſituated in the iſland of Vaſſili-Oſtrof; and, in imitation of the Dutch towns, canals were to be cut through the principal ſtreets, and lined with avenues of trees; but it as never carried into

* Journal of St. Peterſburgh, 1799.

† The reader will find a delineation of this plan in Perry's State of Ruſſia.

execution; and under the empreſs Anne, the imperial reſidence was removed to the Admiralty Quarter. The nobility ſoon followed the example of the ſovereign; and, excepting ſome public edifices, and the row of houſes fronting the Neva, the Vaſſili Oſtrof is the worſt part of the city, and contains more wooden buildings than all the other quarters.

Succeeding ſovereigns have continued to embelliſh Peterſburgh, but none more than the preſent empreſs, who may be called its ſecond founder. Notwithſtanding, however, all theſe improvements, it bears every mark of an infant city, and, is ſtill, "only an immenſe outline, which will require future empreſſes and almoſt future ages to complete *." The ſtreets in general are broad † and ſpacious; and three of the principal ſtreets, which meet at the Admiralty, and reach to the extremities of the ſuburbs, are at leaſt two miles in length. Moſt of them are paved; but a few are ſtill ſuffered to remain floored with planks. In ſeveral parts of the metropolis, particularly in the Vaſſili Oſtrof, wooden houſes and habitations, ſcarcely ſuperior to common cottages, are blended with the public buildings; but this motley mixture is far leſs common than at Moſcow.

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 231.

† They are moſtly as broad as Oxford-ſtreet: thoſe with canals much broader.

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The brick houſes are ornamented with a white ſtucco, which has led ſeveral travellers to aſſert that they are built with ſtone; whereas, unleſs I am miſtaken, there are only two ſtone ſtructures in all Peterſburgh; the one the church of St. Iſaac, of hewn granite, and marble columns, not yet finiſhed; the other the marble palace conſtructed at the expence of the empreſs, on the banks of the Neva. Her imperial majeſty gave this ſuperb edifice to prince Orlof; and, at his death, purchaſed it from his executor for 2,000,000 of roubles. The ſtyle of architecture is magnificent but heavy: the front is compoſed of poliſhed granite and marble, and finiſhed with ſuch nicety, and in a ſtyle ſo ſuperior to the contiguous buildings, that it ſeems to have been tranſported to the preſent ſpot, like a palace in the Arabian tales, raiſed by the enchantment of Aladdin's lamp *. It contains forty rooms upon each floor, and is fitted up in a ſtyle of ſuch ſplendor, that the expence of the furniture amounted to 1,500,000 roubles.

The manſions of the nobility are vaſt piles of building, but not in general upon ſo magnificent a ſcale as ſeveral I obſerved at Moſcow: they are furniſhed with great coſt, and as elegantly as

* In this palace Staniſlaus, the abdicated king of Poland, died.

thoſe at Paris or London. They are ſituated chiefly on the ſouth ſide of the Neva, either in the Admiralty Quarter, or in the ſuburbs of Livonia and Moſcow, which are the fineſt parts of the city.

The views upon the banks of the Neva exhibit the moſt grand and lively ſcenes I ever beheld. That river is in many places as broad as the Thames at London: it is alſo deep, rapid, and as tranſparent as cryſtal; and the banks are lined with handſome buildings. On the north ſide the fortreſs, the Academy of Sciences, and Academy of Arts, are the moſt ſtriking objects; on the oppoſite ſide are the Imperial palace, the Admiralty, the manſions of many Ruſſian nobles, and the Engliſh line, ſo called becauſe the whole row is principally occupied by the Engliſh merchants. In the front of theſe buildings, on the ſouth ſide, is the Quay, which ſtretches for three miles, except where it is interrupted by the Admiralty; and the Neva, during the whole of that ſpace has been lately embanked by a wall, parapet, and pavement of hewn granite; a magnificent and durable monument of imperial munificence. The canals of Catharine, and of the Fontanka *, which are ſeveral miles in length, have been recently embanked in the

* And the Moika ſince my departure.

ſame

ſame manner, and add greatly to the beauty of the metropolis.

The quantity of poliſhed granite uſed in theſe public works is ſufficient to aſtoniſh an European architect, who conſiders the hardneſs of the ſtone, and the difficulty with which it is poliſhed. I have frequently viewed with ſurprize the proceſs employed by the Ruſſian workmen, in ſmoothing the granite. They batter the ſtone with an iron hammer edged with ſteel; the quantity which flies off at each ſtroke, is almoſt imperceptible; but by repeatedly ſtriking the ſame place, the prominent parts are worn away, and the ſtone becomes ſmooth. To this gradual attrition may be applied the proverb,

Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi ſed ſæpe cadendo.

Peterſburgh, though more compact than other Ruſſian cities, with the houſes in many ſtreets contiguous to each other, ſtill bears a reſemblance to the towns of this country, and is built in a very ſtraggling manner. By an order lately iſſued from government, the city has been encloſed within a rampart, the circumference whereof is 21 verſts, or 14 Engliſh miles.

The average population of Peterſburgh may be collected from the liſt of births and deaths during ſeven years.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
1771	Males	2459	4781	Males	3137	4779
	Females	2322		Females	1642	
1772	-	-	4759	-	-	4727
1773	-	-	5483	-	-	5031
1774	Males	2839	5437	Males	2899	4458
	Females	2598		Females	1559	
1775	-	-	4961	-	-	3107
1776	Males	2816	5397	Males	2694	4463
	Females	2581		Females	1769	
1777	Natives.		5854	Natives.		5660
	Males	2717		Males	3117	
	Females	2618		Females	2043	
	Foreigners.			Foreigners.		
	Males	265		Males	265	
	Females	254		Females	235	
Total of births for 7 years - -			36,672	Total of deaths		32,165
Annual average of births, omitting ſmall fractions - - -			5238			
- - - of deaths - - -			4594			

By multiplying the births 5238 by 25, the ſum is 134,950; and the deaths 4594 by 26, the ſum is 119,444. By taking the medium, therefore, between theſe two ſums, we have 126,697 for the number of inhabitants *.

Peterſburgh,

* Suſslick eſtimates the population of Peterſburgh at 133,196, by multiplying the births by 28; and 132,990, by multiplying the deaths by 26; neither of which numbers differs eſſentially from the average number in the text: he adds, that Peterſburgh is the only large town in which there are more births than deaths. The population of Peterſburgh is continually increaſing, as well from the exceſs of the births above the deaths, as from the influx of natives and foreigners. Accordi ng toa cenſus taken in 1784, it contained 126,827 males, and 65,619 females, including about 27,890 foreigners; in all 192,446 perſons.

According

Peterſburgh, from its low and marſhy ſituation, is ſubject to inundations, which ſometimes threaten the town with a total ſubmerſion. Theſe floods are chiefly occaſioned by a weſt or ſouth-weſt wind, which, blowing directly from the gulf, obſtructs the current of the Neva, and cauſes an accumulation of waters. On the 16th of November we had nearly perſonal experience of this dreadful calamity. Being invited to a maſquerade at the Cadet's in the Vaſſili Oſtrof, on our approach to the bridge we perceived that a ſtormy weſt wind had ſwelled the river ſo conſiderably as to elevate the pontoons; and the bridge was in danger of being carried away. Inſtead, therefore, of repairing to the maſquerade, we returned home, and waited for ſome hours in awful expectation of an immediate deluge. Providentially, a ſudden change of wind preſerved Peterſburgh from the impending cataſtrophe, and the inhabitants from an almoſt univerſal conſternation, which recent ſufferings impreſſed upon their minds. I allude to the flood in the month of September 1777, whoſe effects are thus deſcribed: "* In the evening of

According to Profeſſor Heym (Encyclopedie des Ruſſiſchen Reichy) Peterſburgh was 24 verſts in circumference in 1784, and contained 71 churches, and 3431 houſes, of which 1291 were of brick, and 2140 of wood.

* Journ. St. Pet. Sept. 1777.

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the 9th, a violent ſtorm of wind blowing at firſt S. W. and afterwards W. raiſed the Neva and its various branches to ſo great a height, that at five in the morning the waters poured over their banks, and ſuddenly overflowed the town, but more particularly the Vaſſili Oſtrof and the iſland of St. Peterſburgh. The torrent roſe in ſeveral ſtreets to the depth of four feet and an half; and overturned, by its rapidity, various buildings and bridges. About ſeven, the wind ſhifting to N. W. the flood fell as ſuddenly; and at mid-day moſt of the ſtreets, which in the morning could only be paſſed in boats, became dry. For a ſhort time the river roſe 10 feet 7 inches above its ordinary level."

The diviſions of Peterſburgh, on each ſide of the Neva, are connected by a bridge on pontoons, which was uſually removed when the large maſſes of ice driven down the ſtream from the Lake Ladoga *, firſt made their appearance, and for a few days, until the river was frozen ſufficiently hard to bear carriages, there was no communication between the oppoſite parts of the town. The depth of the river renders it extremely difficult to build a ſtone bridge; and if one ſhould be conſtructed, it would probably be de-

* This bridge was, in December 1779, replaced for the firſt time, and continued during the winter; a practice which has been ſince renewed, and renders the communication more convenient.

ſtroyed by theſe vaſt ſhoals of ice. To remedy this inconvenience, a Ruſſian peaſant projected the ſublime plan of throwing a wooden bridge of a ſingle arch acroſs the river, which in its narroweſt part is 980 feet in breadth. The artiſt has executed a model 98 feet in length, which I examined with great attention, as he explained the proportion and mechaniſm.

The bridge is conſtructed on the ſame principle as that of Schaffhauſen, excepting that the mechaniſm is more complicated, and the road not ſo level. I ſhall attempt to deſcribe it by ſuppoſing it finiſhed, as that will convey the beſt idea of the plan. The bridge is roofed at the top, and encloſed at the ſides: it is formed by four frames of timber, two on each ſide, compoſed of beams or truſſes, which ſupport the whole fabric. The road is not carried over the top of the arch, but ſuſpended in the middle.

	Feet.
Length of the abutment on the north end - - -	658
Span of the arch - - - - -	980
Length of the abutment on the ſouth end - - -	658
Length of the whole ſtructure - - - -	2296
The plane of the road upon its firſt aſcent makes an angle of five degrees with the ordinary ſurface of the river.	
Mean level of the river to the top of the bridge in the center	168
Ditto to the bottom of the bridge - - - -	126
Height of the bridge in the center - - -	42
Height from the bottom of the bridge in the center to the road	7
Height from the bottom of the bridge to the water -	84
Height from the water to the ſpring of the arch - -	56

There

There is a difference of 35 feet between the road at the ſpring of the arch, and the road at the center; in other words, an aſcent of 35 feet in 490, which is little more than eight-tenths of an inch to a foot* The bridge is broadeſt toward the ſides, and diminiſhes towards the center.

In the broadeſt part it is - - - -	168 feet
In the center or narroweſt - - - -	42
The breadth of the road is - - - -	28

The artiſt informed me, that to conſtruct the bridge would require 49,650 iron nails, 12,908 large trees, 5,500 beams, and that it would coſt 300,000 roubles, or £.60,000. He ſpeaks of this bold project with the warmth of genius, and is convinced that it is practicable. I muſt own, I am of the ſame opinion, though I hazard it with great diffidence. What a noble effect would be produced by a bridge ſpringing acroſs the Neva, with an arch 980 feet wide, and towering 168 feet from the ſurface of the water! The deſcription of ſuch a bridge ſeems almoſt chimerical; and yet, on inſpecting the model, we are reconciled to the idea. But whether the execution of this ſtupendous work may be deem-poſſible or not, the model itſelf is worthy of at-

* The aſcent of the road of the bridge at Schaffhauſen is barely four-tenths of an inch in a foot.

tention,

tention, and reflects high honour on the inventive faculties of untutored genius: it is so compact, that it has supported 3540 pood, or 127,440 pounds, without swerving from its direction, which is far more, in proportion to its size, than the bridge, if completed, would have occasion to sustain from the pressure of the carriages added to its own weight.

The projector of this plan was apprentice to a shop-keeper at Nishnei Novogorod; and, like the Swiss carpenter who built the bridge of Schaffhausen *, unacquainted with the theory of mechanics. Opposite to his dwelling was a wooden clock, which excited his curiosity; by repeated examinations he comprehended the internal structure, and, without assistance, formed one exactly similar. His success in this essay urged him to undertake the construction of metal clocks and watches. The empress, acquainted with these wonderful exertions of native genius, took him under her protection, and sent him to England; from whence, on account of his ignorance of the language, he soon returned to Russia. I saw a repeating watch of his workmanship at the Academy of Sciences: it is about the bigness of an egg; in the inside is represent-

* For the account of the bridge of Schaffhausen, see Travels in Switzerland, Letter II.

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ed the tomb of our Saviour, with the ſtone at the entrance, and the centinels upon duty; ſuddenly the ſtone is removed, the centinels fall down, the angels appear, the women enter the ſepulchre, and the chant performed on Eaſter-eve is heard, Theſe are trifling, although curious performances; but the plan of the bridge was a ſublime conception. This perſon, whoſe name is Kulibin, bears the appearance of a Ruſſian peaſant; he has a long beard, and wears the common dreſs of the country; he receives a penſion from the empreſs, and is encouraged to follow the bent of his mechanical genius.

The nobleſt monument of the gratitude and veneration paid to Peter I. is his equeſtrian ſtatue in bronze, of coloſſal ſize; it is the work of Falconet, the celebrated French ſtatuary, caſt at the expence of Catharine II. in honour of her great predeceſſor, whom ſhe reveres and imitates. The monarch is repreſented in the attitude of mounting a precipice, the ſummit of which he has nearly attained. His head is uncovered, and crowned with laurel; he wears a looſe veſt in the Aſiatic ſtyle, with half-boots, and ſits on a houſing of bear-ſkin: the right hand is ſtretched out, as in the act of giving benediction to his people, and the left holds the reins. The deſign is maſterly, and the attitude bold and ſpirited. The flat poſition of the right hand is deficient in dignity,

dignity, and has an unpleaſing effect; for which reaſon, the view of the left ſide is moſt ſtriking, where the figure is graceful and animated. The horſe is ſpringing upon the hind legs, and the tail, which is full and flowing, appears ſlightly to touch a ſerpent, artfully contrived to aſſiſt in ſupporting the vaſt weight *. The artiſt has, in this noble eſſay of genius, repreſented Peter as the legiſlator of his country, without alluſion to conqueſt and bloodſhed; wiſely preferring his civil qualities to his military exploits †. The contraſt between the compoſure of Peter (though perhaps not characteriſtic) and the fire of the horſe, eager to preſs forwards, is very ſtriking. The ſimplicity of the inſcription correſponds to the ſublimity of the deſign.

PETRO PRIMO ‡, CATHARINA SECUNDA 1782.	PETRU PERVOMU EKATHERENA VTORAIYA 1782.

Falconet háving conceived the deſign of plac-

* The height of the hero, is eleven feet; of the horſe ſeventeen; the bronze in the thinneſt part is only three lines, but increaſes gradually towards the hind feet of the horſe to one inch; the weight of the whole (excluſive of the counterpoiſe of 10,000lb.) is 44,041 Ruſſian, or 36,636 Engliſh pounds.

† Falconet has ably refuted the cenſures urged againſt his ſtatue on this account. See his Letter to Diderot, in "Pieces written by Monſ. Falconet," tranſlated by Mr. Tooke, p. 47. Where the reader will alſo find an engraving of the ſtatue.

‡ Catherine II. to Peter I.

ing the ſtatue on a huge rock * inſtead of a pedeſtal, carefully examined the environs of Peterſburgh, for a detached moſs of granite, of magnitude correſpondent to the dimenſions of the equeſtrian figure; and after conſiderable reſearch, he diſcovered, near the village of Lachta, a ſtupendous crag, half buried in the midſt of a marſhy foreſt. The expence and difficulty of tranſporting it were no obſtacles to Catherine II: the moraſs was drained, the foreſt cleared, and a road four verſts in length formed from the ſhore to the Gulf of Finland. It was ſet in motion on large friction-balls, and grooves of metal, by means of pullies and windlaſſes, worked by four hundred men. In this manner it was conveyed, with forty men ſeated on the top, 1200 feet a day to the ſhore, then embarked on a nautical machine †, tranſported eight verſts by water, and

* "Pour marquer à poſtérité, d'où cet héros legiſlateur étoit parti, et quels obſtacles il avoit ſurmonté."—Deſcription d'une Pierre pour ſervir de Piedeſtal, &c. in Haygold's Ruſsland, V. II. p. 211.

† This nautical machine was conſtructed on the principle of the camel, which is uſed to convey ſhips over the bars, both at Amſterdam and St. Peterſburgh. It was hollow, and being ſunk to the water level, the ſtone was placed upon it, the water was then pumped out, and it roſe and floated. The ſtone, ſupported by this machine, appeared like a moving mountain on the ſurface of the gulf.

The machinery for the tranſport of this enormous maſs was conſtructed

and landed at Peterſburgh near the ſpot where it is now erected. This more than Roman work was accompliſhed in leſs than ſix months; the rock when landed was forty-two feet long at the baſe, 36 at the top, 11 broad and 17 high, and weighed 1500 tons.

The pedeſtal, however, though ſtill of prodigious magnitude, is far from retaining the original dimenſions; as, in order to form a proper ſtation for the ſtatue, and repreſent an aſcent, the bulk has been much diminiſhed. But I could not obſerve without regret, that the artiſt had refined too much upon nature; and in order to produce a reſemblance of an abrupt precipice, had been too laviſh of the chiſſel. Art is too conſpicuous; and the effect would have been more ſublime had the ſtone been left as much as poſſible in its rude ſtate, a vaſt, unwieldy, ſtupendous maſs.

The ſtatue was erected on the pedeſtal on the 27th of Auguſt 1782, near the Admiralty, and the pontoon bridge over the Neva. The ceremony was performed with great ſolemnity, and accompanied with a ſolemn inauguration.

conſtructed under the direction of Count Carburi, who was known in Ruſſia under the name of the Chevalier Laſcaris, and the proceſs is deſcribed in a ſuperb work, illuſtrated with engravings, under the title of "Monument elevé à la gloire de Pierre le Grand, 1777."

Having paſſed ſeveral months in Ruſſia, I ſhall throw together ſeveral facts and obſervations concerning the ſtate of the weather, and the effects of the cold in this ſevere climate.

During our journey from Moſcow to Peterſburgh, in the month of September, we found the weather very changeable, the autumnal rains being extremely frequent and heavy*. The mornings and evenings were extremely cold; and, whenever it did not rain, we generally ob-

* In 30 days it rained 24; and the quantity of water which fell at St. Peterſburgh in the month of September O. S. was equal to 2 3/5 Engliſh inches in depth.

From accurate obſervations, during fourteen years, to aſcertain the quantity of rain and ſnow which fell at St. Peterſburgh, the reſult was, that the average annual duration of ſnowy and rainy weather was equal to 42 times 24 hours, or ſomething leſs than the ninth part of the year. From a courſe of ten years' obſervations it appeared, that rain fell during ſome part of 103 days, and ſnow during ſome part of 72; and that if the year was divided into twelve parts, a fourth was fine weather, a third rain, and a fifth ſnow.

The whole quantity of rain and ſnow water, taken together, which fell in the courſe of a year, was the following proportion:

	Inches.		Inches.
January - -	0,979	July, - -	2,760
February -	0,979	Auguſt -	2,671
March - -	0,801	September -	3,473
April - -	1,246	October -	2,493
May - -	1,335	November -	1,513
June - -	3,116	December -	0,979
			22,345

The average quantity of rain which falls in London in the courſe of a year is equal to 19,241.

ſerved

ſerved the graſs and trees covered with a hoar froſt. On our arrival at Peterſburgh on the 29th of September, the winter was not yet ſet in: in October, the weather, for the firſt twenty days, was the moſt part rainy, the mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, was ſeldom below freezing point, and moſtly fluctuated between 32 and 44.

The ſnow made its firſt appearance in ſleet on the 9th, and the following day came down in flakes and in large quantities; on the 24th the mercury ſuddenly ſunk to 25, roſe the next morning above freezing point, a ſudden thaw enſued, and all the ſnow diſappeared in a few hours. The ſummer and winter are not, as in our climate, gradually divided by ſpring and autumn, but ſeem almoſt to ſucceed each other.

On the 15th of November the Neva* was entirely

* The freezing of the Neva is not attended with any peculiarities which diſtinguiſh it from other rivers. The following circumſtances, which fell under my obſervation, are extracted from my journal.

Monday morning, Nov. 9. On Saturday the 7th, ſmall pieces of ice, which came from the lake Ladoga, were firſt obſerved floating with the ſtream: the ſame day in the evening the bridge of boats was removed, as in theſe caſes they collect and would carry it away. Yeſterday the pieces of ice were more frequent and maſſy; to-day they are ſmall floating iſlands, which almoſt cover the river: the ſides of the Neva are frozen only a few feet from the banks; all the canals are covered with ice, and people are ſcating upon them.

entirely frozen*: ſoon afterwards the Gulf of Finland was covered with ice, and ſledges began to paſs from Peterſburgh to Cronſtadt, the road being marked over the ſurface by rows of trees.

Even during the months of December and Ja-

Nov. 12 and 13. The Neva is frozen above the place where the bridge was ſtationed, by the pieces of ice which have united and barred the paſſage: below it the ſtream is open for boats, which are continually paſſing to and fro.

Nov. 13. The bridge of boats is again replaced, as there is no longer any danger of its being carried away by the floating maſſes of ice; and will continue during the whole winter, a circumſtance which has not happened ſince the foundation of Peterſburgh.

Nov. 15. The river about and below the bridge is entirely frozen, and I ſaw perſons walking acroſs it. I am informed that yeſterday the ice was ſtrong enough to bear foot paſſengers; this will convey ſome idea of the ſeverity of the weather in this climate; as the rapid current was open on the 13th, and on the next day was frozen.

Table of the freezing and thawing of the Neva for five ſucceſſive years, from Profeſſor Kraft's Obſervations:

	1773.		1774.		1775.		1776.		1777.	
April,	New Style	16	April	21		22		25		30
	Old Style	27	May	2	May	3	May	6	May	11
Nov.		19		7		12		12		26
		30		18		23		23	Dec.	7
Open 217 days.			200		204		201		210	

See Nov. Ac. Pet. for 1777. P. II. p. 73.

* In 1784, the Neva was not finally frozen until the night of the 5th of December, N. S.

The thickneſs of the ice is from 24 to 38 feet; the average about 28.

nuary,

nuary, the weather was extremely changeable; it ſhifted in a ſudden manner from a ſevere froſt to a thaw; the mercury in the thermometer often roſe within the courſe of twenty hours from 20 to 34, and ſunk again as rapidly in the ſame ſpace of time *.

When

* Although I examined the thermometer every day; yet I did not attempt to form a ſeries of regular obſervations, which I now much regret. I occaſionally, indeed, made a few remarks, which I ſhall inſert, as I find them ſcattered in my journal: they will tend to confirm the truth of what I have advanced in relation to the change of weather obſervable at Peterſburgh, and will ſerve to contradict thoſe authors, who aſſert that, as ſoon as the hard froſt commences, the cold continues with uniform ſeverity, and with little variation, during the whole ſeaſon. Nov. 16. To day a thaw; the thermometer mounted to 40: in the evening ſharp froſt again; the mercury falling to 20.—Nov. 23. The thermometer at 4, 5, and 6.—Dec. 3. It has been theſe few days moſtly a thaw and changeable weather.—Dec. 6. The thermometer fell almoſt ſuddenly from 33 to 10.—Dec. 11. Thermometer at -10.—Dec. 14. A ſudden thaw, which continued the 15th and 16th.—Dec. 17. Thermometer at -7. —Dec. 18. Thermometer at -5, and a fog at the ſame time.—Dec. 19. Windy, thaw, thermometer above freezing point.—Dec. 21. Changeable weather all this week, from ſharp froſt to ſudden thaw. —Jan. 1. 1779. Weather very changeable, the thermometer one morning at -8, the next above freezing point; this winter it has not as yet been lower than -13.—Jan. 6. Thermometer at -14.—Jan. 9. Thermometer at $-7\frac{1}{2}$; the barometer mounted ſuddenly very high ſince laſt night.—Jan. 10. Early this morning the thermometer at -23, and at 11 at $-20\frac{1}{4}$. Barometer at $30\frac{6}{10}$. The ſmoke of the chimnies was preſſed down to the ground.—Jan. 11. Thermometer at -28, according to my own obſervation, at ten in the morning: but earlier the mercury had ſunk to $-31\frac{1}{2}$ or $63\frac{1}{2}$ below freezing point. —Jan. 15. Thermometer, ſince the 11th, roſe gradually: on the

When the froſt was not ſevere, namely, when the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer was not below 10, I frequently walked out in a common great coat. When the cold was more intenſe, I was dreſſed in the manner of the natives; and wore, in my daily excurſions, a *peliſſe*, or large fur cloak, fur boots or ſhoes, a black velvet or fur bonnet, that prevented the froſt from nipping my ears, the part which I found the moſt liable to be affected. During the 9th, 10th, and 11th of January, the froſt was nearly as intenſe * as it was ever felt at Peterſburgh; the mercury in the thermometer falling at one time to 63 below freezing point, or — 31. This cold, however, did not detain me at home; but I walked out, as uſual, with my *peliſſe*, boots, and cap, and found it by no means unpleaſant, the ſun ſhining with great brightneſs. As I traverſed the city on the morning of the 12th, I obſerved ſeveral perſons whoſe faces had been bitten by the froſt: their cheeks had large ſcars, and appeared as if ſinged with a hot iron. As I was walking with an Engliſh gentleman, who,

12th in the morning it ſtood to -13; from thence it fell to 0, to 15; and to-day it is above freezing point.

I made the ſame obſervations during the ſecond winter which I paſſed at Peterſburgh, and found the weather equally uncertain.

* The winter in which profeſſor Braun congeled quickſilver, the cold was ſo intenſe, that De Liſle's Thermometer ſunk to 204 = in Fahrenheit's to — 33, or 65 below freezing point.

Sorodomof del.

C. Ruotte sculpsit.

A RUSSIAN GENTLEMAN in a WINTER DRESS

Published according to Act of Parliament, Jan.y 1.st 1784, by T. Cadell in the Strand.

inſtead of a fur cap, had on a common hat, his ears were ſuddenly frozen: he felt no pain, and would not have perceived it for ſome time, had not a Ruſſian informed him *, and aſſiſted him in rubbing the part affected with ſnow, by which means it was inſtantly recovered. This, or friction with flannel, is the uſual remedy; but ſhould the perſon in that ſtate approach the fire, or dip the part in warm water, it immediately mortifies and drops off.

The common people continued at work as uſual, and the drivers of ſledges plied in the ſtreets, ſeemingly unaffected by the froſt; their beards were incruſted with clotted ice, and the horſes covered with iſicles. Even during this extreme cold, the people did not add to their ordinary clothing, which is at all times well calculated for the ſeverities of their climate. They are careful in preſerving the extremities againſt the cold, by covering the legs, hands, and head, with fur. The upper garment of ſheep-ſkin, with the wool turned inwards, is tied round the waiſt with a ſaſh; but the neck is bare, and the breaſt only covered with a coarſe ſhirt: theſe parts, however, are well guarded by the beard. I obſerved with much ſurpriſe, ſeveral women en-

* The part frozen always turns quite white, a ſymptom well known, and immediately perceived by the natives.

gaged

gaged in waſhing upon the Neva or on the canals. They cut holes in the ice with a hatchet, dipped their linen into the water with bare hands, and then beat it with flat ſticks. During this operation the ice continually formed again, and they were conſtantly employed in clearing it away. Many of them paſſed two hours without intermiſſion at this work, when the thermometer was at 60 below freezing point; a circumſtance which proves that the human body may be brought to endure all extremes.

It ſometimes happens that coachmen or ſervants, waiting for their maſters, are frozen to death. To prevent as much as poſſible theſe dreadful accidents, great fires of whole trees, piled one upon another, are kindled in the court-yard of the palace, and the moſt frequented parts of the town. As the flames blazed above the tops of the houſes, and caſt a glare to a conſiderable diſtance, I was much amuſed with contemplating the pictureſque groups of Ruſſians, with their Aſiatic dreſs and long beards, aſſembled round the fire. The centinels upon duty, having no beards, which are of great uſe to protect the glands of the throat, generally tie handkerchiefs under their chins *, and cover their ears with ſmall caſes of flannel.

* The women alſo uſe this precaution.

Nothing

omof del.

B. Dicmar Sculpsit.

A RUSSIAN in a WINTER DRESS.

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jan.y 1.st 1784. by T. Cadell, in the Strand.

Nothing can be more lively and diverſified than the winter ſcenes upon the Neva; and ſcarcely a day paſſed that I did not take my morning walk, or drive in a ſledge upon the river. Many carriages and ſledges, and numberleſs foot paſſengers perpetually croſſing, afford a conſtant ſucceſſion of moving objects; the ice is alſo covered with different groups of people, diſperſed or gathered together, and variouſly employed as their fancy leads them. In one part are ſeveral long areas railed for the purpoſe of ſcating; a little further is an encloſure, where a nobleman is training his horſes, and teaching them tho evolutions of the manage. In another part the croud are ſpectators of a ſledge race. The courſe is an oblong ſpace about the length of a mile, and ſufficiently broad to turn the carriage. It can hardly be denominated a race, for there is only a ſingle ſledge drawn by two horſes, and the whole art of the driver conſiſts in making the ſhaft-horſe trot faſt, while the other is puſhed into a gallop.

The ice-hills afford a perpetual fund of amuſement to the populace. A ſcaffolding is raiſed upon the river thirty feet in height, with a landing place on the top, to which the aſcent is by a ladder. From this ſummit a ſloping plain of boards, four yards broad and thirty long, ſupported by ſtrong poles gradually decreaſing in

in height, deſcends to the ſuperficies of the river, and the ſides are defended by a parapet of planks. On theſe boards are laid ſquare blocks of ice chipped with the axe, and ſprinkled with water; by which means they coaleſce, become ſmooth, and form an inclined plain of pure ice. At the bottom the ſnow is cleared away for the length of 200 yards and the breadth of four, and the ſides of this courſe, as well as the ſides and top of the ſcaffolding, are ornamented with firs and pines. Each perſon, being provided with a ſmall ſledge *, mounts the ladder to the ſummit, ſeats himſelf on his ſledge and glides down the inclined plain; when the velocity, acquired by the deſcent, carries the ſledge above 100 yards on the level ice of the river. At the end of this courſe, is uſually a ſimilar ice-hill, nearly parallel to the former, which begins where the other ends; thus the diverſion may be perpetually renewed without intermiſſion. The chief difficulty conſiſts in poiſing the ſledge in its rapid deſcent down the inclined plain; for if the pilot is not ſteady, but totters either through inadvertence or fear, he is liable to be overturned, and incurs no ſmall riſk of breaking his bones, if not his neck. I have frequently ſtood above an hour at the bottom of theſe ice-hills, obſerv-

* Something like a butcher's tray, as Dr. King juſtly obſerves in his ingenious pamphlet on the effects of cold in Ruſſia.

ing

ing the ſledges follow each other with inconceivable rapidity; but never had ſufficient courage to try the experiment *, as one failure might have proved fatal.

Boys alſo continually amuſe themſelves in ſcating down theſe hills: they glide chiefly upon one ſcate, being better able to preſerve their balance on one leg than on two. Theſe ice-hills exhibit a pleaſing appearance, as well from the trees with which they are ornamented, as from the moving objects deſcending without intermiſſion, which Richter, in his ſketch of Moſ-

* Timid perſons, or thoſe unaccuſtomed to this exerciſe, are occaſionally accompanied by a conductor, who directs the ſledge. A mode well deſcribed in the "Voyage de deux François," &c.

"Le traîneau conſiſte en une petite planche plus longue que large, et peu elevée: une ſeule perſonne peut s'y tenir, encore n'eſt elle point à ſon aiſe. Le conducteur du traîneau eſt aſſis, les jambes ouvertes, entre leſquelles ſe place celui qui veut deſcendre (chaque courſe coûte cinq copecks); l'un et l'autre ont l'attention de tenir les jambes fort elevées et le corps très en arrière; ainſi placés, et le traîneau étant parfaitement droit, on le conduit au bord de la deſcente, et on le laiſſe aller: le conducteur le dirige avec les mains qu'il tient écartées du corps, et qui ſont garanties par des mitaines d'un cuir fort épais. La rapidité de la courſe eſt prodigieuſe, et le traîneau arrivé ſur le terrain plat, parcourt encore une aſſez grande étendue: dans le prèmier moment la reſpiration eſt fort genée; il faut avoir l'attention de ne faire aucun mouvement d'un côté ou d'un autre; on ſeroit bientôt culbuté, ce qui eſt fort ordinaire, mais il arrive très peu d'accidens, par le peu de hauteur de la chûte."

Voyage de deux Français au Nord de l'Europe, Tom. 3. p. 353.

cow, not unaptly compares to a cataract of human figures.

Another ſtricking object is the market on the Neva. At the concluſion of the long faſt which cloſes on the 24th of December, O. S. the Ruſſians lay-in their proviſions for the remainder of the winter. For this purpoſe an annual market, which laſts three days, is held on the river near the fortreſs. A long ſtreet, above a mile in length, was lined on each ſide with an immenſe ſtore of proviſions, ſufficient for the ſupply of the capital during three months.

Many thouſand carcaſes of oxen, ſheep, hogs, pigs, together with geeſe, fowls, and every ſpecies of frozen food, were expoſed for ſale. The larger quadrupeds were grouped in various circles upright; their hind legs fixed in the ſnow, with their heads and fore legs turned towards each other: next to them ſucceeded a regular ſeries of animals, deſcending gradually to the ſmalleſt, intermixed with poultry and game hanging in feſtoons, and garniſhed with heaps of fiſh, butter, and eggs. I ſoon perceived, from the profuſion of partridges, pheaſants, moor-fowl, and cocks of the wood, that no laws in this country prohibit the diſpoſal of game. I obſerved alſo the truth of what has been frequently aſſerted, that many of the birds, as well as ſeveral animals, in theſe northern regions, become white in winter, many hundred

black

black cocks being changed to that colour; and ſome, taken before they had completed their *metamorphoſis*, exhibited a variegated mixture of black and white plnmage.

The moſt diſtant quarters of the empire contributed to ſupply this vaſt ſtore of proviſions, and the fineſt veal was ſent by land-carriage from Archangel, which is 830 miles from Peterſburgh; yet every article of proviſion is ſurprizing cheap: beef was ſold 1*d.* the Ruſſian pound *, pork at five farthings, and mutton at $1\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; a gooſe for 10*d.* and a pig for 8*d.* and all other articles equally reaſonable †.

To render this frozen food fit for dreſſing, it is firſt thawed in cold water. Frozen meat, however, loſes much of its flavour; and the tables of perſons of condition, and thoſe of the Engliſh merchants, are ſupplied with freſh-killed meat, which is ſold from 4*d.* to 6*d.* a pound.

* A Ruſſian pound contains 14 ounces and a half.

† In 1778.

CHAP. 4.

Preſentation to the empreſs.—Court.—Balls.—Maſquerades.—Public entertainments.—Orders of knighthood.—Account of the palace called the Hermitage.—Diſtribution of the empreſs's time.—Ruſſian nobility.—Their hoſpitality.—Politeneſs.—Aſſemblies.—Engliſh merchants.—Club.

ON the firſt of October, in the morning, between eleven and twelve, we attended our miniſter, Sir James Harris *, to the drawing-room, impatient to behold Catherine II. It was fortunately the name-day, or, as we term it, the birth-day of the Great Duke, in honour of whom a moſt brilliant court was aſſembled. At the entrance into the drawing-room ſtood two centinels of the guards: their uniform was a green coat, with a red cuff and cape, white waiſtcoat and breeches; they had ſilver helmets faſtened under the chin with ſilver claſps, and ornamented with an ample plume of red, yellow, black, and white feathers. Within the drawing-room, at the doors of the paſſage leading to the royal apartments, were ſtationed two ſoldiers of the knights body-guard; a corps perhaps more ſumptuouſly accoutred than any in Europe. They

* Now Earl of Malmſbury.

wore

wore caſques, like the antients, with a rich plumage of black feathers, and chains and broad plates of ſolid ſilver were braided over their uniforms, reſembling a ſplendid coat of mail.

In the drawing-room we found a numerous aſſembly of foreign miniſters, Ruſſian nobility, and officers, waiting the arrival of the empreſs, who was attending divine ſervice in the chapel of the palace, whither we alſo repaired. Amid a prodigious concourſe of nobles, I obſerved Catharine ſtanding ſingly behind a railing; the only diſtinction by which her place was marked. Next to her ſtood the great-duke and ducheſs, and behind an indiſcriminate throng of courtiers. The empreſs repeatedly bowed, and croſſed herſelf, according to the forms uſed in the Greek church, with great appearance of devotion. Before the concluſion of the ſervice we returned to the drawing-room, and took our ſtation near the door, in order to be preſented at her majeſty's entrance.

About twelve, the chief officers of the houſehold, the miſtreſs of the robes, the maids of honour, and other ladies of the bed-chamber, advancing two by two in a long train, announced the approach of their ſovereign. Her majeſty came forward with a ſlow and ſolemn pace, walking with great pomp, holding her head high, and perpetually bowing to the right and left.

She ſtopped near the entrance of the drawing-room, and ſpoke with great affability to the foreign miniſters, while they kiſſed her hand. She then advanced a few ſteps, and we were ſingly preſented by the vice-chancellor Count Oſterman, and had the honour of kiſſing her majeſty's hand. The empreſs wore, according to her uſual cuſtom, a Ruſſian dreſs; a robe with a ſhort train, and a veſt with ſleeves reaching to the wriſt, like a Polonaiſe; the veſt was of gold brocade, and the robe of light green ſilk; her hair was dreſſed low, and lightly ſprinkled with powder; her cap ornamented with a profuſion of diamonds, and ſhe wore much rouge. Her perſon, though rather below the middle ſize, is majeſtic, and her countenance, particularly when ſhe ſpeaks, expreſſes both dignity and ſweetneſs. She walked ſlowly through the drawing-room to her apartment, and entered alone. The great-duke and ducheſs followed the empreſs to the door, and then retired to their own drawing-room, where they had a levee; but, as we had not yet been preſented to them at a private audience, we could not, according to the etiquette of the Ruſſian court, follow them. The great-ducheſs leaned upon the arm of his imperial highneſs, and they both inclined their heads on either ſide to the company, as they paſſed along.

In the afternoon, at ſix, we repaired to a ball

at

CATHARINE THE SECOND,
EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

Stroudon Pinx.t Regiæ. Cha. Ruotte Sculp.t Londini

London Published July 10 1793 for T Cadell Bookseller Strand

at court. The private as well as the ſtate apartments of the empreſs, are on the third ſtory, and the whole ſuite is remarkably grand and ſplendid. We found the company aſſembled in the anti-chamber, who, as ſoon as the great-duke and ducheſs made their appearance, all entered a ſpacious ball-room.

The great-duke opened the ball by walking a minuet with his conſort, at the end of which he handed out a lady, and the great-ducheſs a gentleman, with whom they each performed a ſecond minuet at the ſame time. They afterwards ſucceſſively conferred this honour in the ſame manner upon many of the principal nobility, while ſeveral other couples were dancing minuets in different parts of the circle: the minuets were ſucceeded by Poliſh dances, and followed by Engliſh country-dances. When the empreſs entered, ſhe was more richly appareled than in the morning, and wore a ſmall crown of diamonds.

On her appearance the ball was ſuſpended; while the great-duke and ducheſs, and the moſt conſiderable perſons haſtened to pay their reſpects to their ſovereign. Catharine, having addreſſed a few words to ſome of the principal nobility, aſcended an elevated ſeat, and the dancing being again reſumed, ſhe, after a ſhort time, withdrew into an inner apartment. We, in com-

pany with ſeveral courtiers, threw ourſelves into the ſuite, and formed a circle round a table, at which ſhe had ſat down to cards. Her party conſiſted of the Ducheſs of Courland, Counteſs Bruce, Sir James Harris, Prince Potemkin, Marſhal Razomofski, Count Panin, Prince Repnin, and Count Ivan Tchernichef. The game was Macao; the pieces in circulation were imperials*; and a player might win or loſe two or three hundred pounds.

In the courſe of the evening the great duke and ducheſs preſented themſelves, and ſtood by the table about a quarter of an hour, during which time her majeſty occaſionally entered into converſation with them. The empreſs paid little attention to the cards; converſed familiarly and frequently with great vivacity, as well with the party at play, as with the perſons of rank ſtanding near her. About ten ſhe retired; and ſoon after the ball concluded.

On the 6th we had the honour of being preſented at a private audience to the great-duke and ducheſs; both of whom converſed with us in the moſt affable and condeſcending manner: according to the etiquette of this court, we kiſſed her imperial highneſs's hand.

There is a drawing room at court every Sun-

* An imperial = £.2.

day

day morning, at twelve, and on other particular feſtivals, at which the embaſſadors are uſually preſent, and which all foreigners who have been preſented, are permitted to attend. The ceremony of kiſſing the empreſs's hand is repeated every court day by foreigners in the preſence chamber, and by the Ruſſians in another apartment, who bend their knee on this occaſion; an expreſſion of homage not exacted from foreigners. No ladies, excepting thoſe of the empreſs's houſhold, make their appearance at the morning levees.

Every court day the great duke and ducheſs have alſo ſeparate levees at their own apartments in the palace. And on particular occaſions, ſuch as her own and the empreſs's birthday, &c. foreigners have the honour of kiſſing her imperial highneſs's hand.

In the evening of a court day, there is always a ball at the palace, which begins between ſix and ſeven; the foreign ladies kiſs the empreſs's hand, who ſalutes them in return on the cheek. Her majeſty, unleſs indiſpoſed, generally makes her appearance at ſeven; and, if the aſſembly is not numerous, plays at Macao in the ball-room; the great-duke and ducheſs, after dancing, ſit down to whiſt. Their imperial highneſſes, after a ſhort interval, riſe, approach the empreſs's table, pay their reſpects, and then return to their

game. When the ball happens to be crouded; the empreſs forms her party in an adjoining room which is open to all perſons who have been preſented.

The richneſs and ſplendour of the Ruſſian court ſurpaſſes deſcription. It retains many traces of the Aſiatic pomp, blended with European refinement. An immenſe retinue of courtiers always preceded and followed the empreſs; the coſtlineſs and glare of their apparel, and a profuſion of precious ſtones, created a ſplendour, of which the magnificence of other courts gives a faint idea. The court-dreſs of the men is in the French faſhion: that of the ladies is a gown and petticoat, with a ſmall hoop; the gown has long hanging-ſleeves and a ſhort train, and is of a different colour from the petticoat. The ladies wore, according to the faſhion of the winter of 1778 at Paris and London, lofty head-dreſſes, and were not ſparing in the uſe of rouge. Amid the ſumptuous articles which diſtinguiſh the Ruſſian nobility, none perhaps is more calculated to ſtrike a foreigner than the profuſion of diamonds and other precious ſtones, which ſparkle in every part of the dreſs. In moſt other European countries theſe coſtly ornaments are principally appropriated to the ladies; but here the men vie with the fair ſex in the uſe of them. Many of the nobility were almoſt covered with diamonds; their

buttons, buckles, hilts of ſwords, and epaulets, were ſet with diamonds; their hats were frequently embroidered, if I may uſe the expreſſion, with ſeveral rows, and a diamond-ſtar on the coat was ſcarcely a diſtinction. This paſſion for jewels ſeems to pervade the lower ranks of people; for even private families abound with them; and the wife of a Ruſſian burgher will appear with a head-dreſs or girdle of pearls, and other precious ſtones, of the value of two or three hundred pounds.

On days of high ceremony, the empreſs generally wears a crown of diamonds, and appears with the ribbands of the order of St. Andrew and St. George, both thrown over the ſame ſhoulder, with the collars and the two ſtars emblazoned upon her veſt.

On certain anniverſaries the empreſs dines in public; two of theſe days occurred during our ſtay at Peterſburgh. The 2d of December being the feaſt of the Iſmailof regiment of guards, her majeſty, who, as ſovereign, is colonel of the corps, gave, according to annual cuſtom, a grand entertainment to the officers. She was dreſſed in the uniform of the regiment, which is green trimmed with gold lace, made in the form of a lady's riding habit. The officers having kiſſed her hand, a ſalver with wine was brought in by one of the lords in waiting, and the em-

preſs preſented a glaſs to each officer, who, after a low obeiſance, drank it off. At the concluſion of this ceremony her majeſty led the way, at one o'clock, into an adjoining apartment, in which a ſumptuous dinner was ſpread: ſhe took her place in the middle of the table; and the officers were ranged on each ſide according to their reſpective ranks. The empreſs helped the ſoup; and during the whole repaſt, which laſted an hour, paid great attention to her gueſts.

On a ſubſequent occaſion we attended an entertainment given to the knights of the order of St. Andrew. The empreſs wore a robe of green velvet, lined and faced with ermine, and a diamond collar of the order. The dreſs of the knights is ſplendid, but gaudy and inelegant: they are habited in a green velvet robe, lined with ſilver brocade, a coat of ſilver brocade, waiſtcoat and breeches of gold ſtuff, red ſilk ſtockings, a hat *à la Henry IV.* ornamented with a plume of feathers, and interſperſed with diamonds. This order * being the moſt honourable in

* The order of St. Andrew, or the Blue Ribband, the firſt ever known in this country, was inſtituted by Peter I. in the year 1698, ſoon after his return from his firſt expedition into foreign countries. Weber's Ver. Ruſſ. Part III. p. 38. 161.

That of St. Alexander Nevſki, or the Red Ribband, was founded by the ſame ſovereign, but never conferred until the reign of Catharine I. in 1725.

The

in Ruſſia, is confined to a few perſons of the firſt rank and conſequence; and only twelve ſat down at

The order of St. Anne of Holſtein was inſtituted, in 1735, by Charles Frederick duke of Holſtein, in memory of his wife Anne, daughter of Peter the Great, and introduced into Ruſſia by her ſon Peter III. It is in the diſpoſal of the great duke as ſovereign of Holſtein. The knights wear a red ribband bordered with yellow.

The military order of St. George, called alſo the order of Merit, and which has the precedence over that of St. Anne, was created by the preſent empreſs in 1769. It is appropriated to perſons ſerving by land or by ſea, and, excepting the ſmall croſs of the fourth claſs, never beſtowed in time of peace. The knights wear a ribband with black and orange ſtripes.

This order is divided into four claſſes: The knights of the firſt claſs, called the Great Croſs, wear the ribband over the right ſhoulder, and the ſtar upon the left ſide. Each receives an annual ſalary of 700 roubles = £.140. The knights of the ſecond claſs wear the ſtar upon their left breaſt, the ribband with the croſs pendent round their neck. Each receives 400 roubles = £.80 *per ann.* The knights of the third claſs wear the ſmall croſs pendent round their neck. Each receives 200 roubles, or £.40 *per ann.* This claſs admits 50. The knights of the fourth claſs wear the ſmall croſs faſtened by a ribband to the button-hole like the French Croix de St. Louis. Each receives 100 roubles, or £.20 *per ann.* The fund of this order, aſſigned by the empreſs for the payment of their ſalaries and other expences, is 40,000 roubles = £.8,000 *per ann.* Of this 1,680 is deſtined for the firſt claſs; and 2,000 for each of the remaining three. The number of knights is unlimited. In 1778 the firſt claſs, which is confined to commanders in chief, contained only four; namely, marſhal Romanzof, for his victories over the Turks; Count Alexey Orlof, for burning the Turkiſh fleet at Tcheſme; Count Panin, for the taking of Bender; and Prince Dolgorucki, for his conqueſts in the Crimea. The ſecond claſs comprized only eight knights: the third 48; and the fourth 237. No perſon can obtain this order without having performed ſome gallant exploit,

at the imperial tables: Prince Potemkin, Prince Orlof, Marſhal Galitzin, Counts Alexèy Orlof, Panin, Razomofski, Ivan Tchernichef, Voronzof, Alexander and Leon Nariſkin, Munic, and Betſkoi. Before dinner, the empreſs preſented each knight with a glaſs of wine; at table ſhe was diſtinguiſhed by a chair ornamented with the arms of Ruſſia, and preſided with her uſual dignity and condeſcenſion. The foreign mi-

exploit, or having ſerved with credit in the rank of officer 25 years by land, or 18 by ſea. See Ukaſe ueber die Stiftung de St. Georg's-Ordens, in Schmidts Beytrage.

The order of St. Catharine, appropriated to the ladies, was inſtituted in 1714 by Peter, in honour of his wife Catharine. The motto of "Love and fidelity" was intended to commemorate the diſplay of thoſe virtues in her behaviour on the banks of the Pruth. This order is extremely honourable, as, beſides the empreſs, the great-ducheſs, and a few foreign princeſſes, only five Ruſſian ladies were decorated with it.

The firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe ſeveral orders is the order of St. Andrew, which, beſide the ſovereign princes and foreigners, comprized, in 1778, 26 Ruſſians; that of St. Alexander Nevſki 109; and that of St. Anne 208. The empreſs may alſo be ſaid to have the diſpoſal of the Poliſh orders of the White Eagle and of St. Staniſlaus.

Catharine founded, on the 4th of October, 1782, a new order, called St. Vlodimir, in favour of thoſe who ſerve in civil employments; and it is nearly on the ſame footing as that of St. George with reſpect to the ſalaries annexed to the different claſſes. There are to be ten great croſſes, twenty of the ſecond claſs, thirty of the third, and ſixty of the fourth, beſide a fifth for thoſe who have ſerved 35 years, which gives them a right to wear it.

niſters

niſters and a ſplendid train of courtiers ſtood ſpectators of the entertainment, and ſeveral were occaſionally noticed by the empreſs.

Two or three times in the winter there are maſquerades at court, to which perſons of all ranks are admitted. At one of theſe entertainments which we attended, eight thouſand tickets were diſtributed; and a magnificent ſuite of twenty apartments, handſomely illuminated, was opened on this occaſion. One of theſe, a large oblong room, the ſame in which the common balls at court are held, had a ſpace in the middle encloſed with a low railing, appropriated to the nobility who danced. An elegant ſaloon of an oval form, called the great-hall of Apollo, nearly as ſpacious as the rotunda at Ranelagh, but without ſupport in the middle, was allotted for the dances of the burghers, and other perſons who had not been preſented. The remaining rooms, in which tea and other refreſhments were ſerved, were filled with card-tables, and crouded with perſons continually paſſing and repaſſing. The company either retained their maſks, or took them off at their pleaſure. The nobles in general wore dominos; the natives of inferior rank appeared in their own provincial clothes, perhaps embelliſhed with occaſional ornaments. An exhibition of the ſeveral dreſſes actually uſed by the different inhabitants of the Ruſſian empire,

afforded

afforded a greater variety of motley figures, than the wildeſt fancy ever invented in the maſquerades of other countries. Several merchants wives were decked with large quantities of valuable pearls, many of which were ſplit in halves for the purpoſe of making more ſhow.

At ſeven the empreſs made her appearance at the head of a ſuperb *quadrille*, conſiſting of eight ladies led by as many gentlemen. Her majeſty and the ladies of the ſelect band were ſumptuouſly apparcled in Greek habits, and the gentlemen were accoutred in the Roman military garb, their helmets richly ſtudded with diamonds; among the ladies I diſtinguiſhed the Ducheſs of Courland, Princeſs Repnin, and Counteſs Bruce; among the gentlemen, Prince Potemkin, Marſhal Razomofski, and Count Ivan Tchernichef. The empreſs led the way, leaning upon the arm of Marſhal Razomofski, and, paſſing in great ſtate through the ſeveral apartments, walked two or three times round the hall of Apollo, and then ſat down to cards in an adjoining ſaloon; the company flocked thither in crouds without diſtinction, and arranged themſelves round the table at a reſpectful diſtance. The empreſs withdrew as uſual before eleven.

A ſeparate edifice called the Hermitage, communicates with the palace by means of a covered gallery. It takes this appellation becauſe it is

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the ſcene of imperial retirement; but bears no reſemblance to a hermitage; the apartments being extremely ſpacious, and decorated in a ſtyle of regal magnificence. To this favourite ſpot the empreſs uſually repairs an hour or two every day, and on a Thurſday evening gives a private ball and ſupper to the principal perſons who form her court; embaſſadors and foreigners being ſeldom invited. At this entertainment all ceremony is baniſhed, as far as is conſiſtent with the reſpect due to a great ſovereign. The attendants of ſervants being excluded, the ſupper and various refreſhments are preſented on ſmall tables, which riſe and fall through trap-doors. Many directions for the regulation of this ſelect ſociety are diſpoſed in the various apartments; and their general tendency was to encourage freedom, baniſh etiquette, and invite the moſt unreſtrained eaſe. One written in the French language I comprehended, and retained. "*Aſſeyez vous où vous "voulez, et quand il vous plaira, ſans qu'on le "repete mille fois* *."

A winter and ſummer garden, compriſed within the ſite of the building, are ſingular curioſities, and ſuch as do not, perhaps, occur in any other palace in Europe. The ſummer garden, in the

* Sit down where you chuſe and when you pleaſe, without its being repeated to you a thouſand times.

true

true Aſiatic ſtyle, occupies the whole level roof of the edifice: but at this ſeaſon of the year was buried under the ſnow. The winter-garden is roofed and ſurrounded with glaſs frames; it is a high and ſpacious hot-houſe, laid out in gravel walks, ornamented with parterres of flowers, orange trees, and other ſhrubs, and peopled with ſeveral birds of ſundry ſorts and various climates, which flitted from tree to tree. The whole exhibited a pleaſing effect, and was more delightful as being contraſted with the dreary ſeaſon of the year.

A magnificent range of buildings has been recently added to the imperial palace; it joins the Hermitage, and is ſo extenſive that it may be called another palace. A ſuperb ſuite of apartments, chiefly occupied by the empreſs, contains the cabinet of pictures, principally compoſed of the following collections:

1. The celebrated collection of Crozat, at Paris, which vied with that of the duke of Orleans; it conſiſted of more than 370 pieces, including various ſketches.

2. The ſmall but well choſen collection of counſellor Tronchin, of Geneva; in which may be noticed ſeveral by Teniers; and a Chriſt bearing the croſs, by Ludovico Caracci, half length, of the natural ſize; the countenance expreſſive of that meek dignity by which the founder of the

Bologneſe

Bologneſe ſchool peculiarly characteriſed the Saviour of mankind.

3. The collection of count Bruhl, remarkable for twelve Woverman's; a Holy Family, by Watteau; an Ecce Homo, by Caravagio; a painter who ſucceeded in delineating ſimple nature and low life, but was extremely deficient in treating dignified ſubjects.

4. Part of the collection of the chevalier Bardouin, purchaſed at Paris; the poſſeſſor reſerving to himſelf ſeveral landſcapes by the Dutch maſters, and Vernet. Among the pictures which came to the empreſs, I obſerved ſome excellent paintings by Rubens and Vandyke, particularly an ineſtimable head of Henry the Fourth, by Rubens, a Study after Nature, for the Luxemburgh gallery, greatly expreſſive of that vivacity and *bon-hommie* which characteriſed that amiable monarch; two, by Ferdinand Bol; ſeveral, by Rembrandt, in his ſtrong but uncouth manner, and two lovely groupes of children's heads, in the characters of angels, by the inimitable Corregio.

5. The collection of Houghton-houſe, the loſs of which all lovers of the arts muſt ſincerely regret, and upon which I need not enlarge, as the pictures are well known, from the catalogue publiſhed by Horace Walpole, and from the engravings by Boydel.

6. A collection from Venice, containing ſeveral, by old Palma, Titian, Paul Veroneſe, and the Baſſans; many of which are, perhaps, not originals.

Of the Roman ſchool the empreſs poſſeſſes three capital pictures, by Raphael, which belonged to the cabinet of Crozat: a Holy Family, in that great maſter's beſt manner, and in the higheſt preſervation; a Portrait of Cardinal Pole, alſo in his beſt manner; and a St. George, of which there is an engraving by Voſterman. I muſt not omit an old and excellent copy of the School of Athens, of which the original freſco painting in the Vatican, for compoſition, correctneſs of deſign, and juſt delineation of character, is unrivalled.

Several fine landſcapes by Claude Lorraine, the painter of nature, and two by Gaſpar Pouſſin, in which that poetical painter, ſo remarkable for his pictureſque pencil, has delineated towers and battlements,

> "Boſom'd high in tufted trees;"

and realizes the beautiful imagery in the Penſeroſo of Milton:

> "And when the ſun begins to fling
> His flaming beams; me, goddeſs, bring
> To arched walks of twilight groves,
> And ſhadows brown that Sylvan loves
> Of pine, or monumental oak,
> Where the rude axe with heaved ſtroke
> Was never heard the nymphs to daunt,
> Or fright them from their hallow'd haunt."

By

By Salvator Roſa, the well-known picture of the Prodigal Son, from the Houghton collection, Democritus and Protagoras, not leſs celebrated, and ſeveral fine landſcapes.

Of the Bologneſe ſchool, two Guercinos, and ſeveral invaluable pieces by Guido. Beſides the celebrated picture of the doctors conſulting on the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, from the Houghton collection, I could not ſufficiently admire that delightful painting, known by the name of Les Couſeuſes, from the Crozat collection. This charming picture repreſents an aged governeſs ſuperintending ſeveral young women at work, who are models of perfect beauty, unaffected grace, and ſerene innocence. Theſe two paintings are ſufficient to exculpate Guido from the cenſures of thoſe connoiſſeurs, who, judging haſtily from a few ſpecimens, indiſcriminately accuſe him of always ſacrificing too much to the graces, and of introducing affected attitudes.

The cabinet contains alſo a few pictures by Battoni and Mengs, with whom the genius of the Roman ſchool ſeems to have expired. Of Battoni, Thetis approaching Charon with her infant Achilles aſleep is not without merit.

Three pictures by Mengs deſerve notice: Perſeus and Andromeda, in which the painter has erred againſt *coſtume*, by repreſenting the hero

naked, and Andromeda half clothed. The Judgment of Paris, a fine picture, and St. John preaching in the wilderneſs, a ſingle figure; the air and motion are dignified.

The ordinary diſtribution of the empreſs's time at Peterſburgh, as it concerns ſo great a princeſs, cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

Catherine uſually riſes at ſix, and is engaged till eight or nine in public buſineſs with her ſecretary. At ten ſhe generally begins her toilet; and while her hair is dreſſing, the miniſters of ſtate, and aid-de-camps in waiting, receive their orders. Being dreſſed about eleven, ſhe ſends for her grand-children the young princes Alexander and Conſtantine, or viſits them in their own apartment. Before dinner ſhe receives the great-duke and ducheſs, and ſits down to table rather before one. She has always company at dinner, uſually nine perſons, conſiſting of the generals and lords in waiting, a lady of the bed-chamber, a maid of honour, and two or three of the Ruſſian nobles, whom ſhe invites. Their imperial highneſſes dine with her three times in the week, on which days the party is increaſed to eighteen. The lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, who ſits oppoſite to the empreſs, carves one diſh and preſents it to her; a ceremony, which, having once politely accepted, ſhe afterwards diſpenſes with. Her majeſty is remarkably tempe-

rate,

rate, and is ſeldom at table more than an hour. From thence ſhe retires to her own apartment, and at three frequently repairs to her library in the Hermitage. At five ſhe viſits the theatre *, or a private concert; and, when there is no court in the evening, has a ſmall party at cards. She ſeldom ſups; generally retires at half-paſt ten, and is uſually in bed before eleven †.

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* An Italian opera, a company of Ruſſian and another of French players were, in 1778, maintained at her majeſty's expence, at which the ſpectators were admitted gratis.

† Catherine was as fortunate in her death as ſhe was in her life, having reached her ſixty-ninth year, and the thirty-ſixth of her reign, without experiencing the infirmities of age. A few days before her demiſe ſhe complained ſlightly of an occaſional giddineſs; her phyſician recommended bleeding; ſhe replied, I will reſerve that remedy for a ſerious illneſs.

In the evening which preceded her death, ſhe was unuſually cheerful, ſlept well, roſe early as uſual, drank coffee, wrote till half paſt nine, and ſent a note to prince Zuboff, ordering him to bring at noon the ſubſidiary treaty with Great Britain againſt France, for her ſignature. The meſſenger on returning, did not find the empreſs either in her cabinet, or in any of the apartments.

After waiting ſome time, he opened the door which led from her apartments to that of the bedchamber-woman, and found the empreſs half leaning with her head and back againſt the wall, near the water cloſet, and quite ſpeechleſs. She had not made the leaſt exclamation, for the door of one of the apartments occupied by her female attendants was open, and the lady who was warming herſelf by the fire, heard nothing.

The empreſs was immediately blooded and bliſtered, but continued ſpeechleſs, though breathing, for twenty-four hours, and expired the next morning.

The great-duke is extremely fond of the manage; and, two or three times in the week, takes the diverſion of a tournament, which is thus deſcribed in my friend Colonel Floyd's Journal: "Count Orlof having obtained the great-duke's permiſſion for me to attend the manage of the court, I went this morning to ſee a tournament. His imperial highneſs and eleven of his nobles, dreſſed in uniforms of buff and gold, and armed with lances, ſwords, and piſtols, were aſſembled by nine o'clock, although it was yet duſk. The great-duke drew them up by pairs; and on the ſound of the trumpet, himſelf and the knights mounted their horſes, and retired in due order without the rails. Two rings were ſuſpended on oppoſite ſides of the walls on each ſide of the manage; at each corner was a moor's head of paſteboard, or an apple fixed upon a pole, and between them two heads with a ſquib in the mouths. Theſe were all placed upon ſtands almoſt as high as a man

An expreſs being ſent by the firſt miniſter prince Beſborodko, the great-duke came from Gatchina about nine in the evening, and ſucceeded with great tranquillity. In a few hours the imperial palace exhibited a wonderful metamorphoſis, and was tranſformed from an elegant and magnificent place of reſidence to the appearance of a garriſon; numerous centinels were ſtationed at all the avenues, and in all the paſſages, and the new ſovereign, with the officers of his houſehold and his ſervants, appeared in jack-boots and kevenhuller hats.

on

on horſeback, and at ſome paces from the wall; at each end was alſo an helmet of paſteboard raiſed upon a ſtand about a foot from the ground, and about four from the wall. The two judges, with lord Herbert and myſelf, who were the only ſpectators, took our ſtation on the outſide of the rail. Upon a ſecond ſignal from the trumpet, two knights entered at oppoſite ends of the manage. A band of muſic played a quick air; while each knight, galloping his horſe to the right, and making a volt, ſaluted with their lances at the ſame time; then, continuing their courſe round the manage, each ran with his lance, firſt at the rings ſuſpended from the walls, and next at the moor's heads; after which they delivered their lances, as they went on, to their ſervants on foot. The knights then drew their piſtols, and each making a ſecond volt round the other heads, diſcharged them in order to ſet fire to the ſquib; then, purſuing their courſe round the manage, drew their ſwords, and making a third volt round the apple, endeavoured to ſtrike it to the ground. They finiſhed their career by ſtooping down, and, as they galloped by, thruſting their ſwords through the helmets; then poiſing them in the air, they met in the middle, and riding towards the judge, ſaluted him, related the attempts in which they had ſucceeded, and demanded their prizes: the prize was about four ſhillings

for each atchievement, and an equal fine was paid for every failure. The whole was performed on a continued gallop, and always to the right. In running at the ring, the head, or the helmet; it is eſteemed honourable to put the horſe into full career, which increaſes the difficulty. The judge having beſtowed the rewards, or taken the forfeits, ordered the two knights to retire. The trumpets again founding, two others made their appearance, and performed the ſame manœuvres. This exerciſe was repeated twice by each pair of knights. The whole troop then entered at the ſame time, marched, charged, formed, drew and returned their ſwords, and diſmounted by word of command from the great-duke. At the concluſion they adjourned to the fire; chocolate was brought in; and, after a ſhort converſation, the great-duke bowed and retired."

The nobles of Peterſburgh are no leſs than thoſe of Moſcow diſtinguiſhed for hoſpitality to foreigners. We were no ſooner preſented to a perſon of rank and fortune, than we were regarded as domeſtic viſitants. Many of the nobility keep an open table, to which the firſt invitation was conſidered as a ſtanding paſſport of admiſſion. The only form neceſſary on this occaſion, was to make inquiry in the morning if the maſter of the houſe dined at home; and if he did, we preſented ourſelves at his table without fur-

ther

ther ceremony. The oftner we appeared at theſe hoſpitable boards, the more acceptable gueſts we were eſteemed, and we always ſeemed to confer, inſtead of receiving a favour.

The tables are ſerved with great profuſion and taſte. Though the Ruſſians have adopted the delicacies of French cookery; yet they neither affect to deſpiſe their native diſhes, nor ſqueamiſhly reject the ſolid joints which characterize an Engliſh repaſt. The plaineſt, as well as the choiceſt viands, are collected from the moſt diſtant quarters: I have frequently ſeen at the ſame table ſterlet from the Volga, veal from Archangel, mutton from Aſtrachan, beef from the Ukraine, and pheaſants from Hungary and Bohemia. The common wines are claret, Burgundy, and Champagne; and I never taſted Engliſh beer and porter in greater perfection and abundance. Before dinner, even in the houſes of perſons of the firſt diſtinction, a ſmall table is ſpread in a corner of the drawing room, covered with plates of caviare, dried and pickled herrings, ſmoked ham or tongue, bread, butter, and cheeſe, together with bottles of different *liqueurs;* and few of the company of either ſex omitted a prelude of this kind to the main entertainment. This practice has induced many travellers to relate, that the Ruſſians ſwallow bowls of brandy before dinner. What are the uſages of the vulgar in

this particular I cannot determine; but among the nobility I never obſerved the leaſt violation of extreme ſobriety; and this cuſtom of taking liquor before dinner, conſidering the extreme ſmallneſs of the glaſſes, is an innocent refreſhment, and will not convey the fainteſt idea of exceſs. Indeed, the Ruſſians in nowiſe differ from the French in this inſtance; than in taſting a glaſs of *liqueur* before their repaſt, which the French defer till after dinner. The uſual hour of dining is at three; and the entertainments are moſtly regulated according to the French ceremonial; the wine is circulated during meals, and the diſhes are no ſooner removed than the company retire into another room, and are ſerved with coffee. Nor do the gentlemen, as in England, continue wedded to the bottle while the ladies withdraw into a ſeparate apartment.

Several of the nobility alſo receive company every evening in the moſt eaſy manner: the parties uſually meet at ſeven; ſome ſit down to whiſt, macao, loo, and other games; ſome converſe, others dance. Amid the refreſhments tea is handed round no leſs frequently than in England. At ten ſupper is brought in, and the party generally break up between eleven and twelve. It is no exaggeration to ſay, that, during our continuance in this city, not one evening paſſed but we had it in our power to attend an

aſſembly of this ſort; and had we always frequented the ſame, we ſhould always have found the greateſt cordiality of reception. From theſe circumſtances, perhaps no metropolis in Europe, excepting Vienna, is rendered more agreeable to foreigners than Peterſburgh.

The houſes of the nobility are furniſhed with great elegance; and the ſuite of apartments in which they receive company is uncommonly ſplendid. They are fitted up in the ſtyle of London and Paris, and the new faſhions make their appearance as ſoon as in thoſe two capitals.

Having, on a former occaſion, deſcribed the modes of ſalutation practiſed by the peaſants and common people; I ſhall here mention thoſe which I obſerved in uſe among perſons of higher rank. The gentlemen bow very low, and the ladies incline their heads inſtead of curtſying. Sometimes the gentlemen kiſs the ladies hands as a mark of reſpect, which is uſual in many countries: if the parties are well acquainted, or of equal condition, or if the lady means to pay a compliment; ſhe ſalutes his cheek while he is kiſſing her hand. Frequently, while ſhe ſtoops to touch his cheek, he takes that opportunity of ſaluting her. I have often obſerved this ceremony performed and repeated, as well in the drawing-room at court, as at the different aſſemblies. If the gentleman is a perſon of high rank, the lady

lady offers firſt to kiſs his hand, which he prevents by ſaluting her cheek. The men, and particularly relations, exchange ſalutes in this manner; each kiſſing the other's hand at the ſame inſtant, and afterwards their cheeks.

The Ruſſians, in the uſual mode of addreſs, never prefix any title or appellation of reſpect to their names; but perſons of all ranks, even thoſe of the firſt diſtinction, call each other by their chriſtian names, to which they add a patronymic. Theſe patronymics are formed in ſome caſes by adding Vitch * to the chriſtian name of the father, in others by Of or Ef; the former applied only to perſons of condition, the latter to thoſe of inferior rank. Thus,

Ivan Ivanovitch Ivan Ivanof	} is Ivan the ſon of Ivan
Peter Alexievitch Peter Alexeof	} Peter the ſon of Alexèy.

The female patronymic is Efna or Ofna, as Sophia Alexefna, or Sophia the daughter of Alexèy; Maria Ivanofna, or Maria the daughter of Ivan.

Great families are alſo in general diſtinguiſhed by a ſurname, as thoſe of Romanof, Galitzin, and Sheremetof.

Travellers who have experienced the great politeneſs and taſte, which diſtinguiſh the Ruſſian nobility, both in their entertainments and aſſem-

* Vitch is the ſame as our Fitz, as Fitzherbert, or the ſon of Herbert.

blies,

blies, muſt be ſurprized to find, that ſcarcely ſixty years ago Peter the Great * thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh the following regulations by authority.

Regulations for aſſemblies at Peterſburg in 1719.

" Aſſembly is a French term, which cannot be rendered in Ruſſian in one word: It ſignifies a number of perſons meeting together, either for diverſion, or to talk about their own affairs. Friends may ſee each other on that occaſion to confer together on buſineſs or other ſubjects, to enquire after domeſtic and foreign news, and ſo to paſs their time. After what manner we will have thoſe aſſemblies kept, may be learned from what follows:

" 1. The perſon, at whoſe houſe the aſſembly is to be in the evening, is to hang out a bill or other ſign, to give notice to all perſons of either ſex.—2. The aſſembly ſhall not begin ſooner than four or five in the afternoon, nor continue later than ten at night.—3. The maſter of the houſe is not obliged to go and meet his gueſts, to conduct them out, or to entertain them; but though himſelf is exempt from waiting on them, he ought to find chairs, candles, drink, and all the neceſſaries aſked for, as alſo to provide for all ſorts of gaming, and what belongs thereto.—4. No certain hour is fixed for any body's coming or going; it is ſufficient if one makes his appearance in the aſſembly.—5. It is left to every one's liberty to ſit, walk, or play, juſt as he likes; nor ſhall any body hinder him, or take exception at what he does, on pain of emptying the Great Eagle (a bowl filled with wine or brandy). As for the reſt, it is enough to ſalute at coming and going.—6. Perſons of rank, as, for inſtance, noblemen, ſuperior officers, likewiſe merchants of note, and head-maſters, (by which are underſtood ſhip-builders), perſons employed in the Chancery, and their wives and children, ſhall have liberty of frequenting the aſſemblies.—7. A particular place ſhall be aſſigned to the footmen (thoſe of the houſe excepted), that there may be ſufficient room in the apartments deſigned for the aſſembly."

* Perry's State of Ruſſia, vol. I. p. 186.

The

The Engliſh merchants live in a ſocial and even ſplendid manner. Beſides conſtant meetings at their reſpective houſes; they have, once a fortnight, a regular aſſembly, to which they obligingly invite all their countrymen who happen to be at Peterſburgh, and occaſionally ſome Ruſſian ladies. There is a ball, cards, and ſupper: twelve or fourteen couple uſually dance at theſe meetings, which are perfectly cheerful and agreeable.

A traveller who frequents the houſes of the Ruſſian nobility will be ſtruck with the variety of complexions and faces which are obſervable among the retainers and ſervants; Ruſſians, Fins, Laplanders, Georgians, Circaſſians, Poles, Tartars, and Calmucs. He will be no leſs ſurpriſed on being informed, that many of the ſervants, who belong to the Engliſh and other foreigners, are Mahometans, of whom numerous colonies are ſtill reſident in this vaſt empire.

CHAP. 5.

Fortreſs of Peterſburgh.—Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul.—Tomb of Peter the Great, and the ſucceeding ſovereigns.—Mint.—Hiſtory of the boat called The Little Grandfire, which gave riſe to the Ruſſian navy on the Black Sea.

THE origin of the fortreſs, which occaſioned the foundation of this capital, has been related in the general deſcription of Peterſburgh. Maſſive walls of brick, faced with hewn granite, and ſtrengthened with five baſtions, encircle a ſmall iſland not more than half a mile in circumference, formed by the Great and Little Neva. Within the governor's houſe are barracks for a ſmall garriſon, ſeveral wards uſed as a common jail, and dungeons for the confinement of ſtate priſoners.

In the centre ſtands the cathedral of St. Peter and Paul, in a different ſtyle of architecture from that uſually employed in the conſtruction of churches for the ſervice of the Greek religion. Inſtead of domes, it is ſurmounted with a ſpire of copper gilt, 240 feet in height. The interior decorations are more elegant and leſs gaudy than thoſe in the churches of Novogorod and Moſcow, and the paintings are executed in the modern ſtyle of the Italian ſchool

In

In this cathedral are depoſited the remains of Peter the Great, and of all the ſucceſſive ſovereigns, excepting thoſe of Peter II. buried at Moſcow, and of the late unfortunate Peter III*. interred in the convent of St. Alexander Nevſki. The tombs are of marble, in the ſhape of a ſquare coffin; and, one excepted, have inſcriptions in the Ruſſian tongue: when I ſaw them they were covered with gold brocade, bordered with ſilver lace and ermine.

I viewed, not without peculiar veneration and awe, the ſepulchre which contains the body of Peter I.; the ſternneſs, or rather the ferocity, of whoſe diſpoſition, neither ſpared age nor ſex, nor the deareſt connections; and who yet, with a ſtrong degree of compunction, was accuſtomed to ſay, "I can reform my people, but I cannot reform myſelf." A † royal hiſtorian has juſtly

* Catherine the Second was interred in this cathedral. On the acceſſion of Paul, the remains of his father Peter the Third were removed from the church of the monaſtery, and after lying in ſtate, interred with regal pomp in the cathedral, in the ſame ſepulchre as the body of Catharine the Second. By order of the new emperor, count Alexèy Orlof, and prince Baratynſki, to whom the death of Peter the Third was attributed, were ſtationed on each ſide of the body while it lay in ſtate, and compelled to follow the funeral proceſſion.

† Pierre I. mourut dans ces circonſtances, laiſſant dans le monde plûtôt la reputation d'un homme extraordinaire, que d'un grand homme, *& couvrant les cruautes d'un Tiran des vertus d'un legiſlateur.* Hiſt. de la Maiſon de Brandebourg.

obſerved

obſerved of Peter, that he redeemed the cruelties of a tyrant by the virtues of a legiſlator. We muſt readily allow that he conſiderably reformed and civilized his ſubjects; that he created a navy, and new-modelled his army; that he encouraged the arts and ſciences, promoted agriculture and commerce, and laid the foundation of Ruſſian grandeur. But, inſtead of exclaiming in the language of panegyric,

> Erubeſce, ars! Hic vir maximus tibi nihil debuit:
> Exulta, natura! Hoc ſtupendium tuum eſt *:

We may, on the contrary, venture to regret that he was not *taught* the leſſons of humanity; that his ſublime but unruly genius was not controuled and improved by proper *culture;* nor his ſavage nature corrected and ſoftened by the refinements of *art.* And if Peter failed in enlightening the maſs of his ſubjects equal to his wiſhes, the failure was occaſioned by his own precipitate temper, by the chimerical idea of introducing the arts and ſciences by force, and of performing in a moment what can only be the gradual work of time; by violating the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of his people, and, in contradiction to the dictates of ſound policy, requiring an immediate ſacrifice of

* Bluſh, art! this hero owed thee nothing.
Exult nature! for this prodigy is all thy own.
See Gordon's Life of Peter. Vol. II.

prejudices

prejudices ſanctified by ages. In a word, his failure was the failure of a ſuperior genius wandering without a guide; and the greateſt eulogium we can juſtly offer to his extraordinary character, is to allow that his virtues were his own, and his defects thoſe of education and country. Peter the Great was born at Moſcow on the 30th of May, 1672; and died at Peterſburgh on the 28th of January, 1725, in the 53d year of his age, and in the 44th of a glorious reign.

I obſerved near the tomb of Peter ſome Turkiſh colours: they were taken in the naval engagement of Tcheſme, diſplayed during a ſolemn proceſſion, and placed by the hand of the empreſs, at the tomb of the ſovereign who founded the Ruſſian navy.

Near the aſhes of Peter are depoſited thoſe of his ſecond wife and ſucceſſor Catharine I. the beautiful Livonian, who, by a train of ſingular events, was exalted from a cottage to unbounded ſovereignty *.

In the vault of this church, but without tomb or inſcription, lies Alexèy ſon of Peter I. who fell a ſacrifice to the artifices of the deſigning Mentchikof, and to the reſentment of an inhuman, though, perhaps, juſtly offended father.

* See an account of Catharine I. in chap. 8. of this Book.

The

The recollection of his fate makes a ſtrong impreſſion on a feeling mind, and muſt ſtill more forcibly ſtrike a ſubject of the Britiſh empire; where will is not law, where the heir apparent is as ſecure as the ſovereign himſelf, and where the right of ſucceſſion ſtands irrevocable, not to be altered by the caprice or jealouſy of a reigning monarch. The ſpeculative theoriſt may indeed argue for Peter, that a power ought to be veſted in the ſovereign to exclude an unworthy ſucceſſor. But, in effect, this is rendering the fate of a whole empire dependent upon the will of one perſon, who, during his life, may change his heir as often as he changes his opinion; or who, like Peter, may expire without nominating his ſucceſſor, and leave the throne open to every claimant, who can ſecure the concurrence of the army. The excluſion of Alexèy, the decree * ſubſequent to his death, and the unſettled ideas concerning the right of ſucceſſion introduced by that fatal mandate, occaſioned frequent revolutions in the government; and the diſpoſal of the ſceptre has

* "In the month of February, 1722, a proclamation was made by the ſound of trumpet, requiring every natural-born ſubject of the Ruſſian empire, and all foreigners then reſiding there, to ſwear and ſign an oath, 'that they will acknowledge, as ſucceſſor to the empire, the perſon whom his majeſty ſhall nominate for their ſovereign, after his death.' This order ſtruck a damp on the ſpirits of every body, when they reflected on the undoubted title of the young prince Peter, his majeſty's grandſon, and only remaining heir of the imperial family." Bruce's Memoirs, p. 226.

depended on the regiments of guards ſtationed in the capital. The re-eſtabliſhment of hereditary right, therefore, may be juſtly claſſed among the foremoſt of thoſe excellent regulations which diſtinguiſh the reign of Catherine the Second.

In the ſame vault, which contains the body of the unfortunate Alexèy, is placed that of Charlotte Chriſtina Sophia princeſs of Brunſwick, his no leſs unfortunate wife, whoſe fate is more affecting, becauſe ſhe deſerved it leſs. She was born in 1694; married the tzarovitch in 1711, and died on the firſt of November, 1715, partly of a broken heart occaſioned by her huſband's ill-treatment, and partly by the conſequences of her delivery of Peter II. *

Among the imperial ſepulchres is that of Anne of Holſtein, eldeſt daughter of Peter and Catharine, who, though far more deſerving of notice, is leſs known than her ſiſter the empreſs Elizabeth, becauſe her virtues were not enobled by a diadem. Anne is deſcribed as a princeſs of majeſtic form and expreſſive features, of an excellent and improved underſtanding, and of irreproachable morals. While ſhe was very young, Count Apraxin, a Ruſſian nobleman, paid his addreſſes to her, but was rejected with ſcorn. Not daunted with this repulſe, he continued his courtſhip, and, finding her one day alone,

* See an account of this princeſs in Chap. 8. of this Book.

threw

threw himſelf at her feet, offered his ſword and entreated her to put an end to his life and miſery. "Give me the ſword," ſaid the princeſs, ſtretching out her hand, "you ſhall ſee, that the daughter of your emperor has ſtrength and ſpirit ſufficient to rid herſelf of a wretch who inſults her." The count, apprehenſive that ſhe might execute her threat, withdrew the ſword, and demanded inſtant pardon; and, as the princeſs told the ſtory with great humour, became the deriſion of the court *.

Anne eſpouſed, in 1725, Charles Frederick duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, to whom ſhe had been long betrothed. Bred up with the expectation of two crowns †, ſhe was diſappointed of

* Baſſewitz, p. 371.

† Thoſe of Sweden and Ruſſia: the former by marriage, and the latter by her father's nomination.

With reſpect to the crown of Sweden, her huſband, the only ſon of Hedwige eldeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. was undoubted heir of the Swediſh crown, but was ſet aſide by the Swedes, who preferred Ulrica Eleonora, Charles's youngeſt ſiſter. See Genealogical table of the Houſe of Vaſa, and the chapter on the death of Charles XII. both in the fourth volume.

As to her expectations of the Ruſſian crown, Baſſevitz, her huſband's miniſter, poſitively aſſerts, that Peter I. had formed the reſolution of raiſing her to the throne. "C'étoit dans les mains de cette princeſſe, que Pierre le Grand ſouhaitoit de voir paſſer ſon ſceptre." Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. IX. p. 371.

A ſhort time before his laſt illneſs he explained to her and the duke of Holſtein the ſyſtem he had purſued during his reign, and inſtructed

of both; nominated by her mother Catharine I. one of the council of regency during the minority of Peter II.; excluded from that council after once taking her ſeat, by the deſpotiſm of prince Mentchikof, whom ſhe herſelf had promoted

ſtructed them in the details of government. While he lay upon his death-bed, having recovered his underſtanding by a momentary intermiſſion of the delirium (ſee chapter VIII. on Catharine I.), he called for Anne to dictate his laſt ſentiments, but upon her arrival he relapſed into his former ſtate of inſenſibility. Ibid. p. 372.

It alſo appears, from Sir Luke Schaube's diſpatches, in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke, that Peter had even taken ſome ſteps towards ſettling the crown upon his daughter Anne.

" Le Cardinal [Dubois] ne paroit guere touché de l'injuſtice qui ſeroit faite au fils du czarowitz; et il dit, que ſi le czar *regleroit la ſucceſſion en faveur de ſa fille*, il faudroit bien que ceux qui voudroient ſe lier avec lui de ſon vivant, promiſſent, de la maintenir après ſa mort, après laquelle toutefois il arriveroit vrayſemblablement de cette diſpoſition comme ſi elle n'avoit jamais exiſté." Sir Luke Schaube to Lord Carteret, Paris Jan. 20, 1722.

" Ce que les miniſtres Moſcovites diſoient au Monſ. de Campredon que le czar voulut ſe procurer une garantie pour la *ſucceſſion à ſes etats de la maniere qu'il ſe propoſe de l'etablir*, paroit fort ſingulier, &c. Par rapport a *l'excluſion de ſon petit-fils en faveur de ſa fille*, ſans marquer en même temps à quel prince il la deſtine." Lord Carteret to Cardinal du Bois, Jan. 1721-2.

The decree which he iſſued in February, 1722, ſeemed a prelude to this appointment, which was probably prevented by the ſuddenneſs of his death.

Catharine I. was no leſs inclined to appoint Anne her ſucceſſor, and a ſtrong party was formed in her favour; but that empreſs was prevented from following her inclinations in this inſtance by the ſhortneſs of her reign, and the danger of excluding Peter Alexievitch; who, as the grandſon of Peter the Great, was ſupported by a ſtill more powerful party.

with

with all her influence; driven from Ruſſia by the mandate of that arrogant miniſter, ſhe retired with her huſband to Kiel, where ſhe died in 1728, in the 22d year of her age, leaving one ſon, the unfortunate Peter III.

Her couſin the empreſs Anne, ſecond daughter of Ivan Alexievitch, is interred in the ſame cathedral. She was widow of the duke of Courland, and reſided at Mittau, when ſhe was unexpectedly called to take poſſeſſion of the empire. On the death of Peter II. without iſſue, the ſceptre, according to Catharine's will, ought to have reverted to her grandſon, afterwards Peter III. ſon of Anne of Holſtein; but as hereditary right was aboliſhed by Peter's decree, and no ſucceſſor appointed by Peter II. a privy council of ſeven nobles, in whom the regal power was veſted at the deceaſe of the emperor, formed a plan for limiting the prerogative of the crown, leaving the title and pomp of royalty to the reigning monarch, but reſerving to themſelves the ſupreme authority. Having drawn up certain conditions for the ratification of the future ſovereign, they choſe the princeſs Anne in preference to the family of Peter the Great, and to her eldeſt ſiſter Catharine of Mecklenburgh, becauſe having no legal claim, ſhe would more readily agree to the terms which might ſecure her the ſucceſſion. Anne ſigned the articles without

heſitation, only for the purpoſe of breaking them, and had ſcarcely arrived at Moſcow before ſhe was enabled, by the aſſiſtance of the guards, to annul the act of renunciation, to diſſolve the privy council itſelf, and to re-aſſume the imperial authority in as unlimited a form, as had ever been enjoyed by any of her predeceſſors. This empreſs reſigned herſelf implicitly to the direction of Biren, a native of Courland, who roſe from the loweſt extraction, and regulated all her councils with the moſt arbitrary ſway. Anne has generally been cenſured for her ſeverity, and is ſaid to have ruled the Ruſſians with the knoot in her hand; but the cruelties, which tarniſhed her reign, muſt be attributed to the brutal temper of Biren. The empreſs herſelf was of a humane diſpoſition: ſhe frequently oppoſed the ſanguinary meaſures of her favourite, and in vain endeavoured to ſoften his mercileſs diſpoſition, by ſubmitting to intreaties, and interceding even with tears, for the unfortunate objects of his reſentment*. But, in effect, the ſovereign who permits

* "J'ai été preſent," writes count Munic, "lorſque l'impératrice pleuroit à chaudes larmes ſur ce que Biron fulminoit & menaçoit de ne vouloir plus ſervir ſi l'impératrice ne ſacrifioit Volinſki & ainſi des autres." Ebauche, &c. p. 119.

Mrs. Vigor ſays of her, "I have often ſeen her melt into tears at a melancholy ſtory, and ſhe ſhews ſuch unaffected horror at any mark of cruelty, that her mind to me ſeems to be compoſed of the

moſt

permits cruelties is, and ought to be, equally guilty in the eyes of the world with the ſovereign who commands them, and poſterity juſtly imputes to the miſtreſs the vices of the ſervant, who is uncontrouled in his abuſe of power. Anne died on the 17th of October, 1740, after nominating for her ſucceſſor her nephew Ivan, then an infant; with a view of prolonging the reign of Biren, whom ſhe appointed regent during the minority.

Viewing the tomb of Elizabeth, I recollected the motley character of that indolent and voluptuous empreſs, who, by the revolution of 1741, renewed in her perſon the line of Peter the Great upon the throne of Ruſſia. Elizabeth was born in 1709, and, when arrived at years of maturity, was extremely admired for her perſonal attractions.

Her beauty, as well as rank and large dowry, occaſioned ſeveral offers, none of which were accepted, and ſhe died ſingle. During the reign of her father, a negotiation had commenced for her marriage with Louis XV. By the will of Catharine, Elizabeth was betrothed to Charles Auguſtus, biſhop of Lubeck, and bro-

moſt amiable qualities that I have ever obſerved in any one perſon; which ſeems a particular mark of the goodneſs of Providence, as ſhe is poſſeſſed of ſuch power." Letters from Ruſſia, p. 89.

ther of Adolphus Frederic king of Sweden; but he died before the completion of the ceremony. In the reign of Peter II. ſhe was demanded by Charles Margrave of Anſpach, in 1741, by the Perſian tyrant Kouli Khan; and at the time of the revolution, the regent Anne endeavoured to force her to eſpouſe prince Louis of Brunſwick *. From the period of her acceſſion ſhe renounced all thoughts of the connubial ſtate, and adopted her nephew Peter. Her diſlike to marriage, however, did not proceed from any diſinclination to man; for ſhe freely owned to her confidants, that ſhe was never happy but when in love †; if we may dignify by that name a capricious paſſion ever changing its object. The ſame characteriſtic warmth of temper hurried her no leſs to the extremes of devotion: ſhe was ſcrupulouſly exact in her annual confeſſions of the wanderings of her heart, in expreſſing the utmoſt contrition, and in punctually adhering to the minuteſt ceremonies and ordinances of the church.

With reſpect to her diſpoſition, ſhe is generally ſtyled the humane Elizabeth, as ſhe made a vow

* See Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 25. 285. 309.

† "Elle étoit voluptueuſe à l'excés, née de ſang voluptueux, & elle diſoit ſouvent à ſes confidentes, qu'elle n'étoit contente que tant qu'elle étoit amoureuſe; mais elle étoit avec cela fort inconſtante & changeoit ſouvent de favoris." Ebauche, &c. p. 170.

never

never to inflict any capital punishments * during her reign; and is reported to have shed tears upon the news of victories gained by her troops, from the reflection that they were not obtained without great bloodshed. But although no criminal was executed in public; yet the state prisons were filled with wretched sufferers, many of whom unheard of and unknown, perished in damp and unwholesome dungeons: the state inquisition, or secret committee, appointed to judge persons suspected of high treason, had constant occupation during her reign; many upon the slightest surmises were tortured in secret; many underwent the knoot, and expired under the infliction. But the transaction which reflects the highest disgrace on her reign, was the public punishment of two ladies of fashion, countesses Bestuchef and Lapookin: each received fifty strokes of the knoot in the open square of Petersburgh; their tongues were cut out, and they were banished into Siberia. One of these ladies, Madame Lapookin, esteemed the handsomest woman in Russia, was accused of holding secret correspondence with French ambassador; but her real crime was having commented too freely on the empress's amours. Even the mere rela-

* See Remarks on her celebrated edict, which abolished capital punishments, in the chapter on the Penal Laws of Russia, in the next volume.

tion

tion of ſuch an affecting ſcene, as that of a woman of great beauty and high rank publicly ſcourged by the common executioner, muſt excite the ſtrongeſt emotions of horror, and forbid us to venerate the memory of a princeſs, who, with ſuch little regard to her own ſex, could iſſue thoſe barbarous commands. But let us lament the inconſiſtency of human nature; and in conſidering the character of Elizabeth, let us not deny that her heart, perhaps naturally benevolent, was occaſionally corrupted by power, and ſteeled with ſuſpicion; that although mercy might predominate whenever it did not interfere with her paſſions and prejudices; yet ſhe by no means deſerves the appellation of humane, the moſt noble * attribute of a ſovereign, when it interpoſes to temper the ſeverity of juſtice. Elizabeth died in 1761, in the twenty-firſt year of her reign, and in the 53d of her age: ſhe expired in December, the ſame month in which ſhe was born, and in which ſhe acceded to the throne.

In the fortreſs is a ſmall arſenal, which, among

* I was informed from undoubted authority, that it was impoſſible to obtain Elizabeth's conſent for the execution of a felon who had even committed the moſt horrid ſpecies of premeditated murder, and that the maſter of the police uſed ſecretly to order the executioner to knoot to death thoſe delinquents who were found guilty of the moſt atrocious crimes. It is a pity ſhe did not reſerve her humanity, which in this inſtance was cruelty to her people, for more reſpectable objects.

other

other military ſtores, contains ſome cannon, caſt in the middle of the ſixteenth century, under the reign of Ivan Vaſſielievitch II. I had occaſion to mention in a former chapter, that the art of caſting cannon was introduced into Ruſſia under Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. by Ariſtotle of Bologna. Ivan II. did not fail to imitate the example of his grandfather in procuring, by means of foreign artiſts, the beſt artillery; and to this judicious policy both monarchs were chiefly indebted for their ſucceſſes in war, and for the conqueſt of ſeveral provinces, which they annexed to their hereditary dominions.

In a ſeparate building of the fortreſs is the mint. The gold and ſilver are ſent from the mines of Siberia, and the metals are refined in this laboratory. We ſurveyed the whole proceſs from the firſt melting of the ore to the coining. Among the ſilver we obſerved a large quantity of Dutch dollars, which were melting to be recoined in roubles. Peter I. wanting ſilver for the new coinage, iſſued a decree, that all the cuſtoms ſhould be paid in Dutch dollars; at preſent half the duties are ſtill diſcharged in that money by all foreign merchants, excepting the Engliſh, who are exempted by treaty. But as the gold and ſilver obtained from the mines of Siberia, with the addition of the dollars, are by no means ſufficient for the circulation, a conſiderable

quantity

quantity of both metals is annually imported. The coinage, in its preſent debaſed ſtate, muſt be very advantageous, as in the gold there is ſo much alloy, that a profit of 48 *per cent.* is gained, and in the ſilver of 37 *. This ſtate of the coinage renders uſeleſs the prohibition againſt the exportation, and produces the miſchievous effect of promoting the contraband introduction of falſe coin from foreign countries.

Among the remarkable objects in the mint, the machine for ſtamping the coin deſerves to be mentioned; becauſe it was invented by her preſent majeſty, and is eſteemed an ingenious and ſimple piece of mechaniſm.

Within the fortreſs is a four-oared boat, ſecured with great veneration, in a brick building, and preſerved as a memorial to future ages of its being the origin of the Ruſſian fleet. Peter I. uſed to call it the *Little Grandſire*, and, in the latter part of his reign, ordered it to be tranſported to Peterſburgh: it was conducted in ſolemn proceſſion, to excite the admiration of the people, and expoſed to view that they might compare the former condition of the marine, with

* See Eſſai ſur le commerce de Ruſſie, c. X. where the reader will find an accurate ſtate of the Ruſſian coinage, in which the difference of the preſent money from that of the former reigns is laid down, as I was informed from good authority, with great exactneſs, p. 254—255.

the

the improved ſtate in which he left it. The hiſtory of this little boat is worthy of notice; not only as it comprehends the firſt riſe of the navy, but becauſe, during the courſe of the narrative, I ſhall be enabled to point out ſundry errors advanced by ſeveral hiſtorians of Peter the Great.

There is not the leaſt foundation for the report that Peter was naturally afraid of the water, and had the utmoſt difficulty in ſurmounting this averſion: on the contrary, he always expreſſed a ſtrong attachment to that element. The boat, which has given riſe to this detail, was conſtructed during the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, by Karſtens Brandt, a Dutch ſhipwright, whom Alexèy Michaelovitch invited into Ruſſia. Peter, about the year 1691, accidentally ſeeing this boat at a village near Moſcow, inquired of Timmerman, who taught him fortification, why it was built in a different manner from other veſſels? Timmerman replied, it was a veſſel contrived to ſail againſt the wind. Peter's curioſity was rouſed by this intelligence, and Brandt being inſtantly ſummoned, repaired it without delay, provided a maſt and rigging, and, having launched it upon the Yauſa, ſailed in it, to the ſurprize and aſtoniſhment of the young tzar, who immediately embarked, and, under the direction of Brandt, ſoon learned the management of the veſſel.

Having

Having repeated theſe experiments upon the Yauſa, as well as upon a neighbouring lake, he ordered Brandt to build a yacht * upon the banks of the Moſkva, which was launched in 1691; and in which Peter ſailed as far as Columna. Animated with the ſucceſs of this expedition, he commanded the ſame ſhipwright to conſtruct, upon the lake of Periſlaf, ſeveral ſmall veſſels carrying guns; in which the tzar ſailed on the 8th of February, the 3d of March, and the 5th of April, of the following year. On the 1ſt of May another veſſel was launched, and on the 9th Peter returned to Moſcow. The death of Brandt ſeems to have interrupted the increaſe of this little fleet; but did not prevent Peter from continuing his expeditions on the lake. Some extracts, from General Gordon's † Journal, will ſhow

* From hence I follow implicitly Muller's Extracts from General Gordon's Journal.

† General Gordon, a native of Scotland, was born in 1635: having ſerved with glory in the Swediſh and Poliſh armies, he entered into the Ruſſian ſervice in 1661, in which he continued to the end of his life. His Journal in the Engliſh tongue, is now in the archives at Moſcow, and has never been printed, Muller, who made great uſe of it in ſeveral of his works, propoſed to extract and publiſh all the circumſtances relating to Ruſſia; but, to the great regret of all lovers of hiſtory, has been prevented by other occupations from carrying his deſign into execution. I find, from Bachmeiſter's Ruſſ. Bibl. for 1782, that a German tranſlation of it is given in Part IV. of the Journal of St. Peterſburgh for 1782, which I have not yet ſeen.

Gordon

ſhow the eagerneſs with which the young monarch purſued his new occupation; when ſuch trifling incidents as weighing anchor, and ſailing acroſs a lake, are circumſtantially recorded.

"Gordon went on the 11th of Auguſt to Pereſlaf; and on the 14th was entertained in due form and ceremony on board of the admiral's * ſhip. On the 18th," he adds, "we ſailed from one ſide of the lake to the oppoſite bank; on the 21ſt we got under weigh, and ſailed to the other ſide, where we again came to an anchor; on the 24th Gordon attended the tzar on ſhip-board; on the 28th we departed from Pereſlaf, and on the 31ſt reached Alexeyfsk." But as the limits of a lake were too confined for the riſing ambition of the tzar, he hurried to Archangel, where he arrived in the month of June, 1693. "On the 17th," ſays Gordon, "the poſt brought the news that the tzar had been upon the White Sea,

Gordon died in 1699, much regretted by the tzar, and, to uſe the words of his relation, "His majeſty viſited him five times during his illneſs, was preſent the moment he expired, and ſhut his eyes with his own hand." The ſame author alſo ſays of him, greatly to his honour, "General Gordon was a ſober man, in a country where drinking is much in faſhion: and though he uſed to be much in the tzar's company, his majeſty, knowing his inclinations, would never allow him to be urged. He was ever mindful of his buſineſs, and did great ſervice to the Ruſſian nation." Gordon's Hiſt. of Peter the Great, vol. I. p. 137, 138.

* Muller conjectures that Le Fort was the admiral of this little ſquadron.

and

and was happily arrived into port, and on the 11th of October he came back to Moſcow. In the beginning of May, 1694, he returned to Archangel, and continued in thoſe parts until September; during which time he made frequent expeditions upon the ſea, and improved his knowledge of navigation."

Theſe little adventures, which ſeemed mere youthful amuſements, were productive of the moſt glorious event that diſtinguiſhed his reign. Peter, in the campaign of 1695 againſt the Turks, beſieging Azof, found it impoſſible to take the town without blocking up the harbour, and as he did not poſſeſs one ſhip, was compelled to raiſe the ſiege.

His ſpirit excited, rather than damped, by this diſappointment, he gave orders for the immediate conſtruction of ſeveral veſſels: ſome were framed at Occa, and tranſported over land to the Don; but the greater part were built at Veronetz. In leſs than a year he renewed the ſiege of Azof, and brought before it, to the ſurprize of the Turks, two men of war, 23 gallies, two galleots, and four fire-ſhips *. With this little ſquadron, which ſailed down the Don into the Black Sea, he blockaded the harbour, gained a victory over the Turkiſh gallies, and took Azof. He ſignalized

* S. R. G. vol. II. p. 226.

this

this wonderful event by a triumphal entry into Moſcow, and by a medal repreſenting the capture of Azof, with a motto in Ruſſian, "Victor by thunder and the waves." This ſucceſs was the prelude to ſtill greater atchievements; and as the ſecurity of his new conqueſts upon the Black Sea depended upon a powerful navy, he collected from all quarters the moſt expert ſhip-builders, and ſuperintended the neceſſary preparations at Voronetz, Azof, and Taganroc. In 1699, ſoon after his return from his firſt expedition into foreign parts, he was preſent at a naval review upon the Black Sea, in which ten frigates were engaged, the largeſt carrying fifty, the ſmalleſt twenty-ſix guns *; and the Ruſſian navy, in the harbours of the Euxine, conſtructed and upon the ſtocks, is deſcribed as conſiſting of nine ſhips of 60 guns, ten of 50, ten of 48, two of 42, fourteen of 34, two of 32, three of 30, one of 26, one of 24, four of 18, three of 14, and four of 8 guns; beſide 18 triremes, 100 brigantines, and 300 boats in the Dnieper. This ſtupendous account would be incredible were it not recorded by the ſecretary † to the Auſtrian embaſſy, then

* S. R. G. vol. II. p. 184.

† Korb Diarium. The reader will find, in p. 236, a catalogue of the names of all theſe veſſels, together with the breadth, length, depth, number of guns, and complement of men. See alſo Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. I. p. 62.

reſident at Moſcow; it is ſcarcely paralleled by the naval exertions of the Romans in the firſt Punic war. The rapidity with which Peter created his fleet for the Black Sea, was equalled by ſimilar exertions upon the Baltic, after the acquiſition of Cronſtadt and the foundation of Peterſburgh.

But to return to the boat, which occaſioned this digreſſion, and which gave riſe to the Ruſſian navy. In 1723, at the cloſe of the Perſian expedition, it was tranſported from Moſcow to the new metropolis, and Peter gave a public entertainment, which was called the *Conſecration of the Little Grandſire.* Twenty-ſeven men of war, being ranged at Cronſtadt in the form of a creſcent, the emperor embarked in this boat, himſelf ſteering, while three admirals and prince Mentchikof performed the office of rowers: being then towed by two ſloops, it made a ſmall circuit in the Gulf; and, returning by the fleet, the ſhips ſtruck their flags, and ſaluted with all their guns; while the *Little Grandſire* returned each ſalute by a diſcharge of three ſmall pieces. It was then brought into the harbour, and ſurrounded by the men of war. A few days afterwards the *Little Grandſire* was conveyed to St. Peterſburgh, and its arrival ſolemnized by a maſquerade upon the water *. This memo-

* Conſett's preſent State of Ruſſia, p. 218.

rable

rable boat, freighted with the emperor, proceeded to the fortreſs, and was conducted, under the diſcharge of all the artillery, to the place where it now remains enſhrined as a memorial to poſterity.

From the fortreſs we took water, and landed at an adjacent ſpot in the iſland of Peterſburgh, near a wooden hovel, remarkable as the habitation of Peter the Great, while the fortreſs was conſtructing. It ſtill remains in its original ſtate, and ſtands under a brick building, erected to preſerve it from deſtruction. The houſe is a ground floor, with only three rooms, which I had the curioſity to meaſure. They are but eight feet in heighth: the apartment for the reception of company is 15 feet ſquare; the dining-room 15 by 12, and the bed-chamber ten. Near this houſe is another four-oared boat, the work of Peter's own hands, which has been erroneouſly called the *Little Grandſire*.

CHAP. 6.

Congelation of Quickſilver.—Dr. Guthrie's experiments to aſcertain the freezing point of mercury, and to prove that the purity or impurity of the mercury by no means affects the congelation.

AS the curious experiment of freezing quickſilver was firſt made at Peterſburgh by Profeſſor Braun, I was deſirous of witneſſing the repetition of the ſame proceſs; particularly as many doubts were entertained by ſeveral philoſophers, concerning the real congelation of *pure* quickſilver, and I had frequent opportunities of ſeeing this phænomenon during a ſeries of experiments by Dr. Guthrie, phyſician to the Imperial Corps of Cadets.

Having inſerted a tube containing quickſilver in a mixture of ſnow and ſpirit of nitre, he took it out in ten minutes, placed it in a ſecond mixture, and in five minutes the quickſilver was congeled. The tube being broken, the quickſilver appeared in a ſolid maſs like a ball of ſilver, and being ſtruck with a hammer was flattened into twice its extenſion before it liquified.

But the hammer being much warmer than the frozen quickſilver, melted the parts which it touched, ſeeming to have the ſame effect upon the mercury

mercury as a warm iron upon wax; I defired, therefore, Dr. Guthrie to place the hammer alſo in the freezing mixture, ſo as to acquire the ſame degree of cold as the frozen quickſilver. Another portion of quickſilver being congeled by the ſame proceſs, I took out the hammer, and ſtruck the ſolid maſs of quickſilver; it reſiſted the ſtroke, and yielded a dead ſound like lead; I ſtruck it again, and made a ſmall dent, a third time, and made a larger dent, until it gradually extended and flattened under the hammer, ſeparated like an amalgama of the conſiſtence of cheeſe, and ſoon liquefied.

To me the congelation of quickſilver was a matter of mere curioſity: yet the doctor's experiments tended not only to prove its abſolute congelation, but likewiſe to aſcertain the freezing point, and ſhew that the purity or impurity of the mercury did not affect the ſucceſs of the experiment.

As the ſubject is extremely curious, and rendered ſtill more intereſting by the able treatiſe publiſhed by Sir Charles Blagden, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, I ſhall inſert a ſummary account of the experiments and obſervations communicated by Dr. Guthrie, and ſhall only add, that I was witneſs to moſt of the experiments.

"Mr. Joſeph Adam Braun, Profeſſor of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Peterſ-

burgh, difcovered, in December 1759, that mercury might be rendered ſolid by means of artificial cold; and it has been ſince congeled in ſevere winters by the cold of the atmoſphere in the northern countries of both the old and new continent.

"This congelation of mercury by the natural cold, renders the knowledge of its freezing point a matter of great importance to the natural hiſtory of the earth as well as of man; as by determining the degree of cold neceſſary to effect this phænomenon, we ſhall be able to eſtimate the real degree of cold in the countries near the poles, and conſequently the power inherent in living animals to reſiſt it. Until lately our ideas on this ſubject were confuſed and erroneous. The experiments and obſervations of the moſt able naturaliſts in Europe and America were only of partial uſe to natural hiſtory and phyſics, by placing mercury amongſt the malleable metals, and by demonſtrating that there is nothing eſſentially fluid in its nature, but that it is a metal which melts with a leſs degree of heat than the others.

"Still the philoſopher was not informed what reliance he could place on the mercurial thermometer towards determining the cold of climates; as the motions of the quickſilver appeared by thoſe very experiments extremely ir-

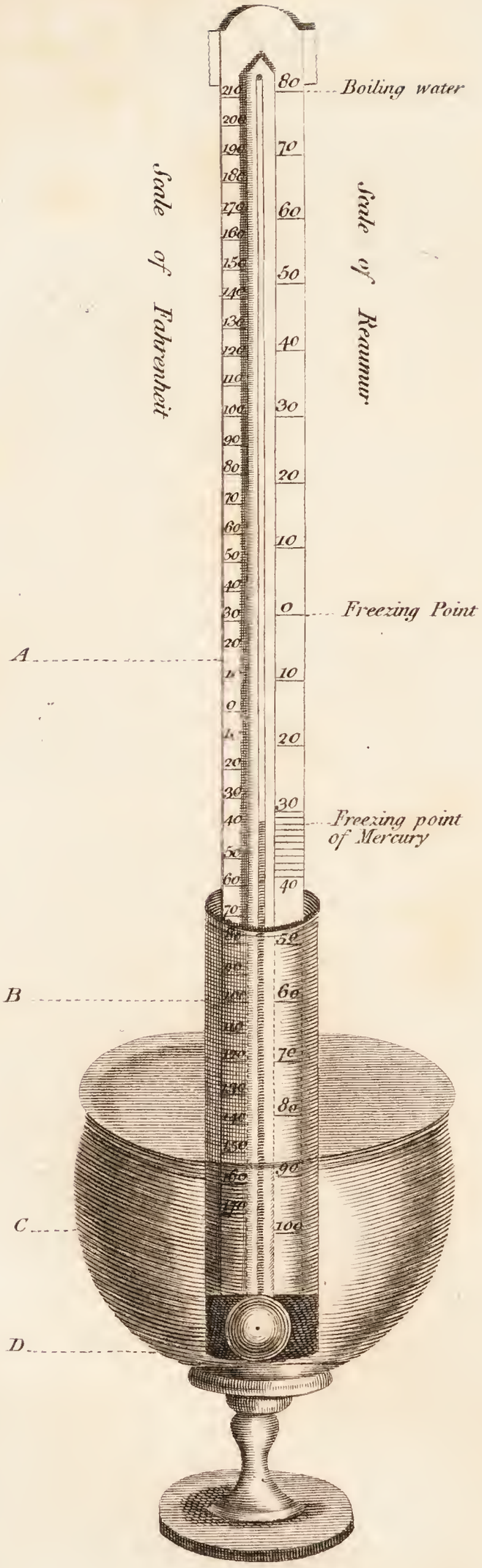
regular in the lower parts of the ſcale, falling many degrees in an inſtant, and after deſcending below a certain point, ſinking ſuddenly into the bulb, and thereby ſeeming to indicate that the animals of the northern countries could reſiſt the action of cold ſome hundred degrees below the freezing point of water. This ſuppoſition ſtaggered the faith of many philoſophers, and made them anxious that the matter ſhould be more fully inveſtigated. Accordingly the Royal Society of London deſired its members reſiding in cold countries to turn their attention towards determining the point of congelation of mercury, and remark the deſcent of the mercury in the thermometer during the proceſs from the freezing point of water to that of mercury, in order to form a juſter notion of its real contraction. But new light was lately thrown upon the ſubject, by a courſe of experiments made at the deſire of the Royal Society, by Mr. Hutchins, governor of Hudſon's Bay, who received excellent inſtructions from Mr. Cavendiſh, and Dr. Black, profeſſor of chymiſtry in the univerſity of Edinburgh. Theſe directions, and an apparatus made in London, enabled the governor to perceive, that the ſudden and conſiderable deſcent which takes place in the lower parts of the thermometer, when expoſed to great cold, happens from the contraction of the metal in its frozen ſtate, and

does not affect the regularity and juſtneſs of its contraction whilſt it remains fluid. This great point was principally aſcertained by means of a ſpirit thermometer, which was found not to freèze as ſoon as the mercury, and thereby indicated the degree of cold produced by his frigorific mixture, when the mercurial thermometer ceaſed to meaſure it on account of its contraction on becoming ſolid.

"To prove that the deſcent of the mercury in the thermometer was derived from this new-diſcovered principle, namely, the contraction of the metal in freezing, and to try whether pure mercury required a greater degree of cold to freeze it than adulterated mercury, I made theſe experiments with various ſorts of mercury:

"1. I procured from Winterberger, a famous chymiſt of St. Peterſburgh, the pureſt mercury known to chymiſts, viz. revivified from calomel by filings of iron. 2. From Dr. Pallas, native mercury, collected in a mine where no other metal is found but a little iron. 3. Common barometer mercury, furniſhed by Morgan, an Engliſh optician at Peterſburgh, as he received it from England for filling his inſtruments. 4. Six drachms of common mercury, which I adulterated by diſſolving in it a quarter of a grain of tin foil.

"I procured



Apparatus for freezing Quicksilver.

"I procured alſo ſome thermometers made with great care and accuracy by Morgan, filled with the ſame purified mercury, No. 1. for the expreſs purpoſe of theſe experiments; alſo one with highly rectified ſpirits of wine, diſtilled by Winterberger.

"Adjoining is a drawing of the apparatus I employed in theſe experiments, which was ſuggeſted to me by my learned friend Dr. Black: it differs from that employed by Mr. Hutchins in being more ſimple, and conſequently the mercury was more eaſily examined during the proceſs of congelation. It conſiſts of a half pint water-glaſs C, wrapped round with coarſe flannel, and filled with fuming ſpirit of nitre and ſnow to produce artificial cold; a glaſs tube B, half an inch diameter, containing a little mercury, and in this tube is inſerted a thermometer A, ſo that its bulb is buried in the mercury, but no part of the ſtem: the tube and thermometer thus arranged, are placed in the water-glaſs, containing the freezing mixture.

"December the 22d, 1784. In a calm clear evening, Reaumur's thermometer at 17 degrees below 0, after expoſing the apparatus on a table in my court-yard (where I made my experiments) for two hours, to acquire the temperature of the atmoſphere, I poured a little of the purified mercury, No. 1, into the glaſs tube, and having

having inſerted a thermometer filled with the ſame purified mercury, ſo that its bulb was covered with the mercury in the tube, I placed them in the water-glaſs, filled with the freezing mixture, and in ſix minutes tranſported them into a ſecond, with ſimilar contents; the mercury in four minutes more became ſolid, and when I drew out the thermometer, with the frozen mercury ſurrounding its bulb in the form of a ſolid cylinder, it ſtood at $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below 0. Perceiving, however, a little fluid mercury ſtill remaining in the tube, I replaced the thermometer with the mercury adhering to its bulb, and in a few minutes the mercury roſe about half a degree; drawing it up a ſecond time, I found the mercury melted, and the bulb quite free. From this experiment it proves, that the freezing point of pure mercury is at $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below 0 on this thermometer; for as there remained a little mercury ſtill fluid in the tube, there ſeems to have been only produced ſufficient cold to freeze it, and as on its riſing half a degree the mercury became fluid, the point of congelation is accurately determined."

"Second experiment.---On the 9th January, 1785, between ſix and half paſt ſeven in the evening, I made the following experiments in preſence of Mr. Epinus, Mr. Coxe, and other gentlemen. I inſerted the mercurial thermometer uſed

in

in the laſt experiment in a portion of the purified mercury, N° 1, and placed them in the cold mixture: the thermometer fell ſlowly to $22\frac{1}{2}$, and was ſtationary ſome time, whilſt we perceived the mercury in the tube freezing round the ſides, ſo as to produce a coating like tin foil in the Leyden phial; on tranſporting it to a ſecond glaſs of cold mixture, the thermometer fell in five minutes to 36 degrees, where it remained ſtationary during the time of its continuance in the mixture. What was remarkable in this experiment, the mercury in the thermometer was ſtill fluid, although its bulb was frozen into that contained in the tube; for on reverſing the inſtrument, the mercury ran out of the bulb into the ſtem. Now, here is a proof that mercury may be cooled $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below its freezing point, without becoming ſolid.

" Third experiment with native mercury.—It having been aſſerted, that a thermometer, filled with highly rectified ſpirits of wine, is better calculated to determine the freezing point of mercury, than one filled with the ſame metal, becauſe it reſiſts congelation longer, I plunged the ſpirit thermometer into the tube containing the native mercury. Having placed the apparatus in the glaſs with the refrigerant mixture for five minutes, and tranſported it into a ſecond glaſs, the ſpirit falling in the thermometer to 32,

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we examined the mercury, and found it frozen, although the ſpirits of wine remained fluid, and the thermometer ſtood at the ſame degree, (not only while the apparatus remained in the cold mixture, but even after I tranſported it into a warm room) and kept it at the ſame point, until a large part of the bulb of the thermometer was uncovered by the melting of the frozen mercury, drop by drop, into a glaſs.

"Fourth experiment on common barometer mercury.—The mercurial thermometer uſed in the firſt experiment was plunged into this mercury, and placed in the glaſs of cold mixture, and after remaining five minutes, was tranſported into a ſecond glaſs, where in four minutes the thermometer ſunk to 38, and remained ſtationary. The ſame ſingular phænomenon preſented itſelf that appeared in the ſecond experiment, with ſome additions; viz. the mercury ſubſided to $5\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below its freezing point on this thermometer, without becoming ſolid.

"Fifth experiment with the ſame mercury.—I froze a little of this mercury without inſerting a thermometer, in order to try its malleability and ſpecific gravity; it flattened under the hammer, and of courſe is malleable, and ſunk in fluid mercury, which ſhews that it contracts conſiderably in freezing, differing in this circumſtance from common ice, which expands and ſwims in water.

"Sixth

" Sixth experiment on mercury adulterated with tin.—The ſpirit thermometer being plunged into this mercury, ſtood at 32 when the mercury was frozen round its bulb.

" Seventh experiment on purified mercury, was on the 10th of January 1785 (a repetition of a former one) in the preſence of profeſſors Pallas and Ferber, and other gentlemen. I plunged the ſpirit thermometer into a portion of Winterberger's vivified mercury, and it fell to 32 degrees below 0, whilſt the mercury was freezing, and remained there after it became ſolid ſo long as it ſtood in the frigorific mixture. I then drew the thermometer out of the tube with its bulb froze into the mercury, and hung it on a nail in the open air; the metal melted ſlowly in drops, and the ſpirit ſtill kept at the ſame point until the greater part was thawed. We finiſhed theſe experiments by trying with the ſpirit thermometer, what degree of cold was produced by a freſh frigorific mixture, which appeared to be juſt 35 degrees below 0.

" From the whole of theſe experiments, I am diſpoſed to conclude, that the freezing point of mercury is at 32 degrees below 0 on Reaumur's thermometer, or 40 of Fahrenheit, and that common mercury does not freeze with a leſs degree of cold than pure mercury.

" Eighth experiment.—February 1, 1785, a favourable

vourable cold of 15 degrees offering this evening, we placed in the mixture ſome revivified mercury, twice diſtilled with fixed alkali by Winterberger, a preparation which has been ſaid to reſiſt a greater degree of cold than the others; but it froze in 2½ minutes exactly at 32 degrees of Reaumur's mercurial thermometer, in the firſt glaſs of cold mixture, and differed no wiſe from all the other ſorts except the following.

" Ninth experiment.—Mercury purified with antimony froze in two different experiments at 30 degrees with a ſpirit thermometer, and in one with a mercurial thermometer at 32 degrees, ſo that there appears a diſpoſition in this preparation to freeze with a leſs degree of cold than the others; but it muſt be remarked, that it has a blackiſh dull colour and ſluggiſh motion.

" Tenth experiment.—Mr. Coxe being curious to try the malleability of mercury diſtilled with alkali, which has a bright and fluid appearance, I froze ſome of it in a tube, at the ſame time cooling the hammer in the refrigerant mixture, ſo as to acquire the ſame temperature as the frozen mercury, defending the iron from the action of the nitrous acid by means of a glaſs cylinder. This mercury bore ſeveral ſtrokes of the cold hammer, flattening like a leaden bullet.

" Eleventh experiment.—I laſtly froze ſix drachms

drachms of common mercury, containing twelve times as much tin foil as in experiment the ſixth; but even this quantity of alloy, which rendered it almoſt an amalgama, did not diſpoſe it to freeze with leſs than 32 degrees of Reaumur.

" February 16, O. S.—A cold of 24 degrees offering moſt unexpectedly this morning, ſo late in the ſeaſon, and another experiment being ſuggeſted to me by an ingenious friend, Mr. Romme, to put the point of congelation of impure mercury ſtill in a clearer light, I tried it about mid-day, when the cold was diminiſhed 4 degrees in the ſhade.

" Mr. Romme remarked, that mercury takes up much more biſmuth than tin without loſing its fluidity or colour, and as biſmuth is a metal oftner uſed to adulterate it, and difficult to be ſeparated, he thought a mixture of them was a proper ſubject of experiment to decide the queſtion. I accordingly prepared an amalgama ſo thick, that it ſilvered glaſs like a mirror by merely running over it, and adhered ſo faſt as not to be removed without ſcraping. But the freezing point of this very impure mercury was the ſame as the others; viz. 32 degrees of Reaumur, by the mercurial thermometer. The ſpirit thermometer being employed to try the cold of the frigorific mixture, to my ſurprize fell no lower than

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the other thermometer inſerted in the mercury contained as uſual in a tube.

" Thus ended my experiments this ſeaſon; and I may venture to draw the following inferences:

" The point of congelation of mercury is at 32 degrees below 0 on Reaumur.

" There appears no difference in the point of congelation of purified and common mercury, except one preparation with antimony, which ſeems to congeal with a leſs degree of cold than all the others.

" In ſome circumſtances mercury may be cooled below its freezing point, without loſing its fluidity, even as far as $5\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, whilſt the portion in which the bulb of the thermometer is plunged, becomes ſolid.

" Theſe experiments do not affect the credit of the mercurial thermometer, as an accurate inſtrument for meaſuring the degrees of heat from the point of boilling water to that of the congelation of mercury; but no concluſions can be drawn from its motions below this point, as they depend on the contraction of the metal in a ſolid ſtate, which ought to be carefully diſtinguiſhed from the contraction which takes place whilſt it preſerves its fluidity; therefore the ideas we have formed of the cold obtaining in the habited

countries

countries near the poles, and the aſtoniſhing power of animals to reſiſt it, muſt be erroneous *, as they have been taken from the extraordinary deſcent of the mercury in the thermometer, which we now know is derived from the contraction of the mercury when frozen, and not from ſuch an extraordinary degree of cold, which if it had taken place, muſt have deſtroyed the whole ſyſtem of organized bodies.

" We cannot, according to our preſent knowledge of the ſubject, aſſert, that a much greater degree of cold exiſts than the point of the congelation of mercury; no other inſtrument having been employed to aſcertain it than the mercurial thermometer, which is now proved of no authority below 32 degrees of Reaumur.

" But it appears, that a thermometer filled with highly rectified ſpirits of wine preſerves its fluidity in a cold of 35 degrees of Reaumur, or 47 of Fahrenheit, and probably in a greater, which may therefore be employed in northern climates with more advantage than one filled with mercury.

" The ſurpriſing coincidence in the freezing

* Sir Charles Blagden ingeniouſly infers, from a compariſon of natural cold, during a ſeries of years, at Albany Fort, meaſured by a ſpirit thermometer, and of artificial cold produced by freezing mixtures, that the extreme of artificial cold produced by ſnow and nitrous acid correſponds pretty exactly with the extreme of natural cold in the moſt rigorous climates, which can be well inhabited; and does not exceed 46° of a ſtandard mercurial thermometer of Fahrenheit. Phil. Tranſac. vol. lxxiii. p. 387.

of mercury congeled in Siberia by natural cold, with that effected by means of artificial cold, merits attention, as they both fix the freezing point of mercury at 32 of Reaumur; profeſſor Laxman, particularly in a late paper to the Imperial Academy, declares, that he found common mercury conſtantly become ſolid at 210 of De Liſle (32 of Reaumur), and that in 1782, it continued ſolid for two months together. Dr. Pallas alſo, in the third volume of his Travels, mentions the ſame phænomenon taking place about the ſame part of the ſcale."

In addition to Dr. Guthrie's remarks, I ſhall offer a few obſervations.

From a careful review of Mr. Hutchins's experiments, and a compariſon of the thermometers which he employed on that occaſion, Mr. Cavendiſh * concludes, that the true point at which quickſilver froze on Mr. Hutchins's thermometers, graduated according to the ſcale Fahrenheit, was 40; and a thermometer adjuſted in the manner recommended by the Committee of the Royal Society, freezes in $38\frac{2}{3}$, or, in whole numbers, 39 below freezing point, or $31\frac{2}{3}$ of Reaumur, which anſwers to the concluſion drawn by Dr. Guthrie from his experiments, eſtimating the point of mercurial congelation at 32 of Reaumur, or 40 below 0 of Fahrenheit.

As the degree of artificial cold requiſite to

* Philoſ. Tranſactions, vol. lxxiii. p. 2. page 321.

congele

congele quickſilver was greatly miſconceived and exaggerated, a ſimilar miſconception alſo prevailed with reſpect to the degree of natural cold neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the experiment.

According to profeſſor Braun, the degree of natural cold ought not to be leſs than 190 of De Liſle, or 17 below 0 of Fahrenheit: that opinion was generally adopted by the naturaliſts of Ruſſia, and when the mercury in the thermometer ſtood above that point, they conceived it needleſs to attempt the experiment.

Dr. Guthrie, however, proves, that the congelation ſucceeded in a cold not exceeding 0 of Fahrenheit; and ſubſequent experiments made at Oxford by Mr. Walker ſhew, that a very ſmall degree of natural cold is ſufficient to obtain for the frigorific mixture the degree of cold neceſſary to congele quickſilver. Mr. Walker froze quickſilver in a mixture of equal parts of vitriolic acid and ſtrong fuming nitrous acid with ſnow, the temperature of the atmoſphere being only at 30, or 2 degrees below freezing point. He has alſo ſhewn, that it may be even frozen in ſummer, in the hotteſt climates, by a particular combination of the frigorific mixtures, without the uſe of ice *.

* Walker's Experiments on the Production of Artificial Cold, Phil. Tran. vol. lxxviii. p. 395.—Alſo Walker's Experiments on the Congelation of Quickſilver in England, Philoſ. Tranſactions for 1789, vol. lxxix. part 2. p. 199.

I ſhall cloſe this chapter with ſome curious experiments made in Siberia by Dr. Pallas, for aſcertaining the difference of the heat in animals during their torpid and natural ſtates.

Pallas having made an inciſion into the abdomen of a hedge-hog, during its torpid ſtate, and placed Fahrenheit's thermometer in the belly, the mercury roſe only to 39½; and the animal gave no more ſigns of feeling, than if actually dead, as well whilſt the inciſion was making, as when the wound was ſewing up; the animal being conveyed immediately into a warm room, gradually recovered from its lethargy, and walked about the chamber with as much inſenſibility as if no operation had been performed.

Pallas kept this hedge-hog in his houſe from December to the end of March; and although the heat of the apartment was ſeldom under 60 degrees, yet it eat no food, and was never out of its torpid ſtate, except once or twice, when it was placed behind the ſtove, in a heat from 77 to 80. Rouſed by that expedient, it was awakened from its lethargy, took a few turns about the room, and eat a few morſels; but ſoon lay down again, and paſſed its torpid months as nature ordains.

Probably the bodies of theſe animals, which ſleep during winter, are gradually prepared for the torpid ſtate by a deficiency of food, and a conſequent

quent diminution of natural heat; for, a thermometer plunged in the bellies of marmots and hedge-hogs in their natural ſtate, roſe to 76, 79, 81, 86, 88, 99, and 99½, namely, from 36½ degrees to 50 higher than it roſe when plunged into the belly of the hedge-hog in its torpid ſtate.

The following fact alſo ſeems to illuſtrate the conjecture, that a certain ſtate of body prediſpoſes to a torpid ſtate. A tame marmot, which had become extremely fat during ſummer in the profeſſor's houſe, continued awake during the whole winter, although expoſed to the ſame cold which threw the whole ſpecies into their torpid ſtate in that part of Siberia; nor was the doctor able to render it torpid, even with the aſſiſtance of the ice-cellar, wherein he ſometimes confined it during ſeveral days.

By comparing this experiment with the ſleeping hedge-hog, which Pallas was not able to rouſe during the whole winter, except for very ſhort intervals, though expoſed to a heat of between 77 and 80 degrees; it ſeems to follow, that a certain ſtate of body is neceſſary to aſſiſt nature in laying aſleep ſome animals, to which they are gradually brought by a deficiency of nouriſhment at the beginning of winter, when they ſhut up their holes, and retire to reſt from inſtinct; and that the impulſe of the circulation and animal ſpirits, ariſing from heat or nutrition,

ſuperſedes the neceſſity of the torpid ſtate, and prevents their falling aſleep.

It is alſo a curious circumſtance in the œconomy of nature, that Pallas found the heat of birds more conſiderable than that of quadrupeds; namely, from 103 to 111 degrees; a wiſe arrangement of Providence, in proportioning the heat of the winged tribe to the ſuperior cold obtaining in that part of the atmoſphere where they range.

CHAP. 7.

Palace and gardens of Tzarſkoe-Zelo.—Oranienbaum.—Hiſtory of Prince Mentchikof.—Fortreſs.—Apartments of Peter III.—Palace and gardens of Peterhof.—Dutch houſe built by Peter the Great.—Schluſſelburgh.—Origin, hiſtory, and deſcription of the fortreſs.

THE ſeaſon of the year being far advanced on our arrival at Peterſburgh, we had no time or opportunity to viſit many places in the neighbourhood of that capital, yet we contrived, before the approach of winter, to make excurſions to Tzarſkoe-Zelo, Oranienbaum, Peterhof, and Schluſſelburgh.

Tzarſkoe-Zelo, an imperial palace, fifteen miles from Peterſburgh, is the favourite ſummer reſidence of the empreſs, where ſhe lives in a more retired manner than at Peterhof. This palace, built by Elizabeth, is a brick edifice ſtuccoed white, of diſproportionate length, and in a heavy ſtyle of architecture. The capitals of the outſide pillars, as alſo many of the other exterior ornaments, together with the wooden ſtatues which ſupport the cornice and adorn the roof, are all gilded, and exhibit a tawdry appearance. The apartments are large and magnificent: ſome fitted up in the old ſtyle of gaudy profuſion;

others in a leſs ſplendid, but more elegant taſte, by the preſent empreſs. One room is much admired, being richly incruſted with amber, a preſent from the king of Pruſſia.

Having viewed the palace, we walked round the gardens, which are laid out in the Engliſh taſte, and agreeably diverſified with lawn, wood, and water. Among ſeveral bridges, we were particularly ſtruck with one, built after the model of Lord Pembroke's Palladian bridge at Wilton. It is exactly of the ſame ſize, but more magnificent, the lower part being of granite, and the colonade of marble. The marble was hewn and worked in Siberia by an Italian artiſt, who employed nine years in completing it: from Siberia it was tranſported by water to Peterſburgh, and from the capital to Tzarſkoe-Zelo by land. It was a pleaſing ſatisfaction to obſerve our works of taſte introduced into theſe diſtant and, formerly, inhoſpitable regions. Several buildings were ſcattered about the gardens, raiſed in honour of thoſe perſons who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the imperial ſervice. Among theſe I remarked a triumphal arch to Prince Orlof, for checking the progreſs of the plague at Moſcow; a building to Count Alexèy Orlof, in memory of the naval victory at Tcheſme; and an obeliſk to Marſhal Romantzof, for his ſucceſſes againſt the Turks.

Our

Our next excurſion was to Peterhof, Oranienbaum and Cronſtadt *.

The road lay at a ſmall diſtance from the Gulf of Finland, at firſt through a flat diſtrict, chiefly marſhy, producing paſture and little corn. On our left extended a ridge of low hills, which once formed the boundary of the Gulf, when it ſpread over a larger ſpace than it covers at preſent. We aſcended this ridge; obſerved on our left the convent of St. Sergius, and on our right the palace of Strelna, begun by Elizabeth, but never finiſhed. About four miles further we paſſed by Peterhof; and proceeded to Oranienbaum, through a country covered with foreſt.

The palace of Oranienbaum, near the Gulf of Finland, at the diſtance of 27 miles from Petersburgh, was erected by prince Mentchikof, in the meridian of a power, to which ſcarcely any ſubject but himſelf has ever arrived. The riſe of this extraordinary man is variouſly related by different authors. Some aſſert that he was apprentice to a paſtry-cook, and ſold pies in the ſtreets of Moſcow; that Peter ſtopping to converſe with him, was ſtruck with his ready-wit and quick repartees, took him into his ſervice, and advanced him, by rapid promotions, to the height of favour which he afterwards enjoyed:

* Cronſtadt will be deſcribed in the chapter which treats of the Ruſſian navy. See Book VI. in the next volume.

others

others declare, that he was the ſon of a groom belonging to the court, and was caſually placed about the perſon of the emperor*. Both theſe accounts, however contradictory to each other, ſufficiently ſhow the uncertainty of his origin; and indeed it is no wonder that the genealogy of an upſtart favourite ſhould not be exactly traced. The earlieſt account upon record concerning him is, that, in 1687, he was one of the youths† whom Peter formed into a corps, and diſciplined after the European manner. The young tzar was only fifteen years old, and Mentchikof, then known by the name of *Alexaſca*, or Little Alexander, of the ſame age; and being remarkably active in his exerciſe, was obſerved by Le Fort, and recommended to Peter. Several perſons of this company were afterwards promoted very high in the Ruſſian ſervice, and many circumſtances concurred to forward the advancement of Mentchikof. He rendered himſelf remarkably uſeful to the tzar in his plans of reformation; he paid particular attention to foreigners, whom Peter was continually drawing into

* The former opinion, that he was a paſtry-cook's boy, ſeems to be the moſt probable, as it is preferred by Weber, Manſtein, Bruce.

† Muller's Nachricht von der Urſprunge des Preobaſchenkiſchen, &c. in Journal of St. Peterſburgh for March, 1778, p. 173. Furſt Menzikow war einer den erſten Poteſchnii. See alſo Manſtein, p. 11.

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his ſervice; he ſtudied his maſter's character and temper, and knew how to ſubmit to the groſſeſt inſults. "The tzar," ſays Gordon, who was himſelf an eye-witneſs "often kicked him publicly, and beat him like a dog; ſo that the by-ſtanders concluded him undone; but always next morning the peace was made up, which people believed could not proceed but from ſome preternatural cauſe *."

One inſtance of his implicit obedience to the commands of the tzar, and dexterity in performing them, is recorded by Korb, ſecretary to the Auſtrian embaſſy. Peter was accuſtomed to aſſiſt at the examination of the priſoners who were accuſed of high treaſon, and was preſent at the tortures inflicted to force confeſſion; he frequently attended at their execution; ſometimes performed the office of executioner †, and occaſionally conſigned that taſk to his favourites and principal nobles. Soon after the inſurrection of the Strelitz in 1698, Peter ſcornfully reproached many of the nobles who trembled at being compelled to behead ſome rebels; adding in a ſtrain

* Gordon's Life of Peter, vol. II. p. 278. Korb alſo ſays, "Alexaſcam verò favoritam ſuum, gladio accinctum inter tripudia deprehendens, deponendi gladii morem inflicto colapho docuit; cujus impetum ſanguis ex naribus abundè defluus ſatis teſtatus eſt." p. 84.

† "Quinque rebellium capita *à nobiliſſimâ Moſcoviæ manu* ſecuri eſſe amputata." Korb Diarium, p. 170.

of

of ſanguinary juſtice, "No victim is more acceptable to the Deity than a wicked man." Mentchikof, however, did not labour under ſuch delicate feelings; for, as a prelude to the execution of 150 Strelitz, he drove through the ſtreets of Moſcow in a ſledge brandiſhing a naked ſword *, and boaſted of his adroitneſs in cutting off twenty heads. He did not, however, acquire the confidence of Peter merely by acts of buffoonery and cruelty, but by his ſuperior abilities, both as a ſtateſman and a ſoldier †. Being choſen by the emperor for the companion of his travels, he was created prince of the German empire, and rapidly elevated to the higheſt employments both in the civil and military line. On particular occaſions he was even permitted to perſonate his ſovereign, by giving public audience to foreign embaſſadors; while Peter, averſe to the pomp of royalty, appeared as a private perſon in his ſuite. So great indeed was the aſcendency which this favourite acquired over the emperor, as to occaſion a report among the Ruſſians, that he faſcinated by witchcraft the mind of his maſter.

* *Oſtendit adhuc eo veſpere ſæpe dictus Alexander, carpento per omnia urbis compitia vectus, creberrimâ nudi enſis oſtentatione, quam ſanguinolentam craſtini diei tragœdiam expectaret. Crudelior Alexaſca de viginti decuſſis capiſſibus gloriabatur.* Korb. p. 330.

† At the battle of Pultawa he had three horſes ſhot under him.

On

On the death of Peter the power of Mentchicof was ſtill more unbounded. Catharine, chiefly indebted to his aſſiſtance for her elevation to the throne, gratefully reſigned to him the ſole adminiſtration of affairs; his authority continued undiminiſhed to the moment of her deceaſe, and the clauſe in her will *, by which ſhe ordered her ſucceſſor Peter II. to eſpouſe the prince's daughter, was at once a proof of his aſcendency and her gratitude.

His intrigues and power, his ambition and arrogance, his diſreſpectful behaviour to Peter II. † and the peculiar circumſtances of his diſgrace are related in the Memoirs of Manſtein ‡. Being arreſted, in September, 1727, he was impriſoned at Bereſof, a ſmall town upon the river Oby, in a wooden hovel incloſed with paliſadoes, where he ended his days. He ſupported

* Gordon ſuppoſes that this will was forged by prince Mentchikof: a ſuppoſition for which there is not the leaſt proof. We muſt diſtinguiſh between thoſe parts of Gordon's hiſtory, which relate to events while he was in Ruſſia, and the others which he wrote after he quitted that country in 1711. He ſpeaks worſe of prince Mentchikof than he ſeems to deſerve, and particularly arraigns his courage.

† Munic gives, amongſt others, the following inſtances of his arrogance, "Lorſqu'il écrivoit au jeune empereur il le traitoit de fils et ſous-ſignoit la lettre: Votre Pere Menſchikow. Aux egliſes il ſe mettoit à la tribune de l'Empereur," &c. Ebauche, &c. p. 67.

‡ P. 2. to p. 13.

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his disgrace with firmness and resignation *: he received a daily allowance of ten roubles, from which he even saved a sufficiency to build a wooden church, and amused himself by assisting the workmen in the construction. He survived his fall two years and five months, dying in November, 1729, of an apoplexy †.

The wife of prince Mentchikof, affected with her husband's disgrace, became blind with weeping, and expired on the road to Beresof. One of his daughters died before her father in prison; and his surviving son and daughter were released at the accession of the empress Anne. The daughter was married to Gustavus Biren, brother to the duke of Courland, and the son promoted in the army. A grandson of prince Mentchikof is now living: he is an officer in the Russian army, and inherits the name, but neither the riches or power, of his grandfather.

Soon after the fall of Mentchikof, the palace of Oranienbaum was converted into an hospital for sailors; but was afterwards chosen by Peter the Third for his favourite residence. The body of the edifice was built by Mentchikof, and consists of two stories, containing a range of small apartments: the wings, which are long buildings of one story, were added by the emperor.

* Manstein, p. 10.

† See Schmidt Materialien, p. 248.

Passing

Paſſing from the palace to the fortreſs, we obſerved a miniature model of a citadel, made by order of Peter III. when he firſt contracted a fondneſs for military ſtudies, for the purpoſe of learning practical fortification. The fortreſs, which is ſurrounded with a ditch and rampart, and ſtrengthened with baſtions, was raiſed by Peter when great-duke, and contains a building called the governor's houſe, which he generally inhabited himſelf, and into which he admitted only his officers and favourites, while his court reſided in the palace. Near it were barracks for a ſmall garriſon, ſome wooden houſes for the principal officers, and a ſmall Lutheran chapel, where the Holſtein ſoldiers aſſembled for divine ſervice. The governor's houſe is a brick building ſtuccoed, with four windows in front, and contains eight ſmall rooms. It remains exactly in the ſame ſtate as during the life-time of the emperor, neither the furniture, nor the bed, in which he ſlept the night preceding his depoſition, being removed. The bedſtead was furniſhed with curtains of pink and ſilver brocade, ornamented with plumes of red and white feathers, and the coverlet was of white ſatin. Adjoining is a neat cabinet, hung with light brown ſilk, upon which were ſeveral figures worked by the empreſs.

From the fortreſs we were conducted to a large

large gallery of pictures, collected by the emperor. Among ſeveral portraits of that unfortunate prince, one was pointed out to us as a ſtriking reſemblance: he is painted in his Holſtein uniform; the complexion is fair, and the hair light; there is no expreſſion in the features, and the countenance is effeminate.

In the garden is an elegant pavilion, conſtructed by order of the empreſs when great-ducheſs; it contains eighteen apartments, each furniſhed in the ſtyle of different countries, and is ſituated in the midſt of a thick plantation. The approaches being circular, we had not the leaſt glimpſe of the building until we arrived; and as it generally cauſes an emotion of ſurprize, it has, for that reaſon, received the appellation of *Ha!*

In the gardens of Oranienbaum is an extraordinary building, denominated the Mountain for ſledges, called alſo by ſome travellers the Flying Mountain. It ſtands in the middle of an oblong area, encloſed by an open colonade half a mile in circumference, ſupporting a flat roof, which is railed for the accommodation of ſpectators. The flying mountain is a long wooden ſtructure, ſupported on brick walls, repreſenting an undulating ſurface of ground, or a mountain compoſed of three principal declivities, gradually diminiſhing in height, with intermediate

mediate ſpaces reſembling vallies: from the ſummit of the ſtructure to the further extremity is a floored way, in which three parallel grooves are formed. A ſmall carriage, containing one perſon, being placed in the center groove upon the higheſt point, ruſhes with great rapidity down the firſt declivity; the velocity acquired in the deſcent carries it up the ſecond and third, and it glides ſwiftly to the extremity of the area; it is then placed in one of the ſide grooves, and drawn up to the ſummit by means of a windlaſs. To a perſon unacquainted with the mechaniſm of this ſingular ſtructure, this entertainment would appear tremendous; but as the grooves always keep the carriage in a due equilibrium, there is not the leaſt danger of being overturned. At the top of the flying mountain are handſome apartments for the accommodation of the court and principal nobility; and there is alſo room for many thouſand ſpectators within the colonade and upon the roof. Near the flying mountain * is a ſpacious amphitheatre, in which tournaments are uſually exhibited.

Peterhof is ſeven miles from Oranienbaum, and twenty from the capital: the palace was begun by Peter the Great, and finiſhed by Eliza-

* Dr. King, in his Eſſay on the Effects of Cold, has deſcribed another kind of Flying Mountain, which was erected at Tzarſkoe-Zelo: it was taken down when I ſaw the place.

beth. It is ſeated upon an eminence, and commands a ſuperb view of Cronſtadt, Peterſburgh, the intervening gulf, and the oppoſite coaſt of Carelia; it is magnificently furniſhed, and the ſuite of apartments is princely. The preſence-chamber is ornamented with the portraits of the ſovereigns who governed Ruſſia ſince 1613. The moſt conſpicuous is a whole length of Catharine the Second, making her triumphant entry into Peterſburgh, the evening of the revolution which placed her upon the throne. She is repreſented dreſſed in the uniform of the guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn ſword in her hand, and mounted on a white ſteed.

The gardens of Peterhof have been celebrated for taſte and elegance; and from the number of jet d'eaus, fountains, baſons, caſcades, and parterres, have been compared to thoſe of Verſailles. Theſe gardens, which, at the time of their formation, were greatly admired in this country, though not congenial to the taſte of the empreſs, are ſuffered to remain in their preſent ſtate; as during ſummer her majeſty principally reſides at Tzarſkoe-Zelo, where the grounds are diſpoſed in a more modern and pleaſing manner. I ſhall not detain the reader with a deſcription of ſilver dolphins and gilded ſtatues, which are ſcattered in great profuſion; but I cannot omit a childiſh conceit of two gladiators placed in a baſon of water:

water: they are repreſented, not with the ancient weapons, the ſword and buckler, but with the more modern inſtruments of war, a brace of piſtols, which they level at each other in hoſtile attitudes, and the water ruſhes impetuouſly from the barrels.

Part of the garden lies between the palace and the gulf, and contains, among other buildings, a houſe ſituated on the margin of the water, which is worthy of particular obſervation, becauſe it was the favourite retreat of Peter I. As the houſe and furniture have been preſerved with religious veneration in their original ſtate, we can form ſome idea of the plain and frugal ſimplicity in which that great monarch was accuſtomed to live. This houſe being built ſoon after his return from Holland, and fitted up in the taſte of that country, was known by the appellation of the Dutch houſe: he uſed alſo to call it *Monplaiſir*, the name by which it is now diſtinguiſhed. Being ſubject to fevers, he imagined the ſea-air * beneficial

* "Le czar prit à Riga une forte attaque de fiévre chaude. Pour s'en rémettre, il ſe logea une huitaine de jours dans un vaiſſeau. A ſon avis, l'air des eaux reſtaurait la ſanté. Peu de journées paſſées ſans le reſpirer. Se lévant au point du jour, et dinant à onze heures du matin, il avait coutûme de faire un ſommeil après le répas. Un lit de répos pour cet uſage êtait dreſſé dans la frégatte, et il y allait en toute ſaiſon. Même lorſqu'il ſejournait en été a Peterſhoff, l'air des vaſtes jardins de ce palais lui ſemblait étouffé, et il couchait à *Mon-*

neficial to his conſtitution, and for that reaſon cauſed this ſmall houſe to be placed cloſe to the Gulf of Finland. It is of brick, of one ſtory, and roofed with iron, the windows reach from the ground to the top, which, added to the length and lowneſs of the building, give it the appearance of a green-houſe. The habitable part conſiſts of a hall and ſix ſmall rooms, which are furniſhed in the neateſt and plaineſt manner. The mantlepieces are ornamented with curious old porcelain, which he greatly prized as being brought into Ruſſia when the communication was firſt opened with China. The bed-room is ſmall, white-waſhed, and the floor covered with a coloured ſail-cloth. It contains a barrack-bedſtead without curtains, and I obſerved that the ſheets were remarkably fine. The galleries on each ſide, and two ſmall rooms, are hung with pictures of the Dutch and Flemiſh ſchools; among theſe were ſeveral portraits of himſelf under the character of maſter Peter, when he worked at Sardam; and one of his favourite miſtreſs, the beautiful Dutch girl.

Being anxious to viſit every remarkable place in the neighbourhood of this city, I went to

plaiſir, maiſon, dont les flots des la mer lavent un coté, et dont l'autre confine au grand parc de Peterſhoff. C'était ſa rétraite favorite. Il l'avait meublée de tableaux flamans, répréſentant des ſcénes champétres et maritimes, plaiſantes pour la plûpart." Baſſevitz, in E. H. M. IX. p. 339.

Schluſſel-

Schluſſelburgh; a fortreſs often mentioned in the Ruſſian hiſtory, and celebrated for the number and rank of the ſtate priſoners who have been there confined.

Schluſſelburgh is 40 miles from Peterſburgh; the road runs the whole way by the ſide of the Neva, which flows with a full ſtream in a broad and winding channel; the banks, which are ſteep and high, are ſtudded with villages, and country houſes impending over the water. The village of Schluſſelburgh, which is ſituated on each ſide of the Neva, contains 300 wooden houſes, and 2,800 inhabitants.

The fortreſs is built upon a ſmall iſland of the Neva, at the point where it iſſues from the lake Ladoga. The breadth of the ſtream is three quarters of a mile, and the current remarkably rapid.

According to the Ruſſian hiſtorians, George Danilovitch, great-duke of Moſcow, during an expedition againſt Wiburgh in 1324, built a ſmall fortreſs in the middle of this iſland, which was then called, from its oblong ſhape, Orekofſki Oſtrof, or Nut Iſland; from this appellation the fortreſs took its name of Orekovetch, which was corrupted into Oreſhek. Being beſieged and taken by Magnus king of Sweden, the Swedes tranſlated the name into their own language, and called it Noteborg. It again came into the

poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians, who retained it until 1614, when Guſtavus Adolphus forced the garriſon to capitulate. Since this period the Swedes encircled the whole iſland with a wall and battlements.

In 1702 Peter advanced to the frontiers of Sweden with a conſiderable army, and, after ſeveral ineffectual attempts againſt Noteborg, ſent prince Galitzin, colonel of the guards, at the head of a ſelect corps, to take it by ſtorm. The troops being landed by means of rafts, cloſe to the fortifications, which advance almoſt to the edge of the water, were expoſed to ſo dreadful a carnage, that Peter, conceiving the aſſault impracticable, ſent orders for the Ruſſians to retire. Galitzin refuſed to obey. "Tell my ſovereign," he added, "that I am no longer his ſubject; having thrown myſelf under the protection of a power far ſuperior to him." Then, turning to his troops, he animated them by his voice and example, and, leading them to the attack, ſcaled the walls, and took the fortreſs. Peter, ſtruck with this exploit, ſaid to him, "Aſk what you chuſe, except Moſcow and Catharine." The prince, with a magnanimity which reflects high honour on his character, requeſted the pardon of his ancient rival prince Repnin, who had been degraded by Peter from the rank of marſhal to that of a common ſoldier:

dier: he obtained his requeſt, the confidence of his ſovereign, the eſteem of Repnin, and the applauſe of the public *.

Peter changed the name of the fortreſs into Schluſſelburgh, becauſe, from the importance of the ſituation, he conſidered it as the *key* † of his conqueſts. From this period it has continued in the poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians: but has been chiefly uſed for a ſtate-priſon.

The iſland, which lies midway between the banks of the Neva, is of an oblong ſhape, ſcarcely more than 600 yards in length, and 260 in its greateſt breadth. The walls, which ſkirt almoſt the whole circumference, are built with ſtone and brick, about fifty feet high, from eleven to twenty thick, and ſtrengthened with battlements and round towers. We paſſed over a draw-bridge into the fortreſs, which we examined, but without being permitted to enter any of the wards where the priſoners are confined. A range of corridors encloſes a large area, and contains ſeveral dungeons for the priſoners. We obſerved the windows of theſe dungeons cloſed with brick, leaving towards their top a vacant ſpace of a few inches ſquare, which admits ſo little light, that the unfortunate inhabitants have only

* I received this anecdote from a deſcendant of Prince Galitzin, and the truth was confirmed by many Ruſſian noblemen.

† Schluſſel in German ſignifies a key; and Peter affected to give many places a German appellation.

a kind of twilight gloom. In the middle of the area is the governor's houſe, and a ſmall wooden cottage, wherein a ſtate priſoner was confined. Further on we entered through a portcullis into the interior fortreſs, built by George Danilovitch; it is 140 feet ſquare, open at top, with ſtone walls remarkably high. Within is the ſhell of a brick houſe of one ſtory, which reaches from one ſide to the other, and contains eleven rooms, each ſeventeen feet by twelve. This houſe was built by order of Peter III. with ſuch expedition, that it was begun and brought to its preſent ſtate in leſs than ſix weeks; but his depoſition put an immediate ſtop to its progreſs. The conſtruction of ſo large a building in ſo ſecure a place, and in ſuch a ſmall ſpace of time, has always been deemed a myſtery; but there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe that he intended it for his conſort, whom he determined to divorce and impriſon. A few weeks before his depoſition, Peter viſited Schluſſelburgh, and ſaw Ivan; he examined this houſe with great attention, and ſeemed ſatisfied with the expedition of the workmen*.

Several

* Buſching ſuppoſes that Peter conſtructed a houſe for prince Ivan in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh. This can mean no other houſe than that deſcribed in the text, which I am convinced was deſigned for the empreſs; but Buſching probably did not know that

Several ſtate priſoners of high rank have been confined in this fortreſs; among the moſt remarkable are Maria*, ſiſter, and Eudocia†, firſt

that Ivan was removed to Kexholm the beginning of June. Buſching, vol VI. p. 531.

See the account of Prince Ivan in Book V. chap. 2. in the next volume. Several authors who have written ſince the death of the empreſs, have advanced the ſame opinion, though without the ſmalleſt foundation. In ſuch myſterious tranſactions as this, difference of opinion muſt occur.

* Maria was impriſoned on ſuſpicion of being concerned with Alexèy, was again releaſed, and died at Peterſburgh in 1723.

† Eudocia was eſpouſed, in 1689, to Peter the great, and was delivered of Alexèy in 1690. Her oppoſition to Peter's plans of reformation, and remonſtrances againſt his incontinence, occaſioned her divorce, which took place in 1696; when ſhe was compelled to aſſume the veil, and confined in a convent at Suſdal. During her reſidence in that convent, ſhe is reported to have formed a connection with general Glebof, and even to have entered into a contract of marriage by exchanging rings. Encouraged by the predictions of the archbiſhop of Roſtof, who, from a dream, announced to her the death of Peter, and her immediate return to court under the reign of her ſon Alexèy, ſhe re-aſſumed, it was ſaid, her ſecular dreſs, and was publicly prayed for in the church of the convent under the name of the empreſs Eudocia. Being conveyed to Moſcow in 1718, and examined, ſhe was, by order of her inhuman huſband, ſcourged by two nuns, and impriſoned in a ſmall cell in the convent of New Ladoga, without being ſuffered to ſee any one but the perſons who brought her food, which ſhe dreſſed herſelf. From thence ſhe was removed to the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh. Being releaſed on the acceſſion of her grandſon Peter III. ſhe repaired to Moſcow, was preſent at his coronation, as well as that of the empreſs Anne, and expired in the Devitchei nunnery, where ſhe held her court, in 1731, in the 59th year of her age §.

§ Schmidt, Gen. Tab. in his Ruſſ. Geſ.

This

firſt wife, of Peter the Great, who was *here* impriſoned in one of the moſt gloomy cells. Count Piper, miniſter to Charles XII. who was taken at the battle of Pultava, died *here* after a lingering captivity. Biren duke of Courland, and regent of Ruſſia, *here* exchanged the pomp of palaces for a loathſome dungeon, and the ill-fated Ivan, after an impriſonment of twenty-three years, *here* ſuffered an untimely death *.

Theſe melancholy ideas, heightened by the dreadful gloom, dead ſilence, and awful appearance of a few ſolitary centinels, communicated ſuch an impreſſion as will not eaſily be obliterated; and even at this diſtance of time and place, I ſhudder at the recollection of a Ruſſian ſtate-priſon.

This princeſs, though certainly a weak woman, perhaps was not ſo guilty as ſhe was repreſented by Peter. Mrs. Vigor, who ſaw and converſed with her at Moſcow in 1731, aſſures us, that Glebof "underwent ſuch repeated tortures, as it was thought no creature could have borne, with great conſtancy, perſiſting in his own and her innocence during his torments. At laſt the tzar himſelf came to him, and offered him pardon if he would confeſs. He ſpit in the tzar's face, and told him, he ſhould diſdain to ſpeak to him, but he thought himſelf obliged to clear his miſtreſs, who was as virtuous a woman as any in the world," &c. Letters from a Lady in Ruſſia, p. 44, 46. Alſo Voltaire, Schmidt, &c.

* For an account of his death ſee Book V. chap. 2.

CHAP. 8.

Divine ſervice in the Sclavonian and Greek tongue performed by the archbiſhop of Moſcow.—Bleſſing of the waters.—Public feaſt given to the populace.—Deſcription of the vapour-baths.

THE reader, in the preſent chapter, will meet with accounts of various ceremonies and national cuſtoms, which will follow each other in an unconnected detail, but which were too curious to be omitted.

During our ſtay at Peterſburgh, one Sunday morning, at nine o'clock, we, in company with Sir James Harris, had the honour of attending prince Potemkin to the archbiſhop of Moſcow, in order to be preſent at a Sclavonian and Greek ſervice. This learned prelate, whoſe name is Plato, received us with great politeneſs, and, at the cloſe of a ſhort converſation, conducted us into the church. On his entrance the choriſters began a ſhort hymn *, which they finiſhed as he approached the ſhrine: having then ſaid a ſhort prayer, he placed himſelf upon a raiſed ſeat in the middle of the church †; and taking off his

* "The Lord's name is praiſed from the riſing up of the ſun, to the going down of the ſame." Pſalm cxiii. 3.

† The biſhops alone have the privilege of robing themſelves in the middle of the church: the common prieſts put on their eccleſiaſtical veſtments in the ſhrine.

mandyas,

mandyas, or common garment, the attendant prieſts kiſſed his hand, while they delivered to him the different parts of the coſtly pontifical veſtments, which, in receiving, he raiſed to his lips *, before he inveſted himſelf with them. He alſo placed on his head a crown richly ornamented with pearls and precious ſtones. We were informed, that this dreſs is ſimilar to the imperial robe, formerly worn by the Greek emperors of Conſtantinople, which they permitted the ſupreme dignitaries of the church to put on at the time of divine ſervice; and the ſame attire ſtill continues to diſtinguiſh the hierarchy of the Greek church eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia from the lower orders.

The archbiſhop being robed, repaired to the ſhrine within the great folding-doors, and ſoon afterwards began the celebration of divine worſhip. Part of the ſervice was performed in the Sclavonian tongue by the different prieſts, and part by the archbiſhop in the Greek language, which he pronounced according to the accent of the modern Greeks. In conformity to the rules of the church, no organ, or any other muſical inſtrument, was introduced; but the vocal harmony, which conſiſted in hymns, was exceedingly pleaſing. Lighted tapers and incenſe ſeemed no leſs

* In order to kiſs the croſs, which is embroidered upon each part of the dreſs.

eſſential

eſſential parts of their worſhip than among the Roman Catholics.

Towards the concluſion of the prayers, the archbiſhop and clergy retired into the ſhine, to receive the communion. The folding-doors were immediately ſhut, and none of the laity * at that time partook of this rite; but we, as ſtrangers, were allowed to view what paſſed through a ſide-door that was left open for that purpoſe. The communicants ſtood during the ceremony; and the wine was, according to uſual cuſtom, mixed with warm water; the bread, which was cut into ſmall pieces, was put into the wine; and the elements of both kinds were given at the ſame time in a ſpoon.

The whole ſervice laſted about an hour: the archbiſhop, having pronounced the final benediction, again ſeated himſelf in the middle of the church, diveſted himſelf of his pontifical garments, and clothed himſelf in his common robe. We then followed him to his houſe; where we found a collation, conſiſting of an eel-pye, a ſterlet, red and pickled herrings, and various ſorts of *liqueurs* and wines. After enjoying for ſome time the intelligent and entertaining converſation of the archbiſhop, who ſpoke fluently the

* The laity generally receive the ſacrament once or twice in the year.

French

French tongue, we made our acknowledgments, and retired.

Before our departure from the metropolis, we had an opportunity of being preſent at another religious rite of a more public nature, the bleſſing of the Waters; which was performed on the 6th of January, O. S. January 17th, N. S. though not with its ancient pomp and magnificence. This ceremony uſed to be held upon the Neva; on which occaſion the ſovereign attended in perſon upon the ice, and all the regiments of guards were drawn out in great ſolemnity. Its pomp, though ſtill ſplendid, is now much diminiſhed.

On the frozen ſurface of a ſmall canal, between the admiralty and the palace, was erected an octagon pavilion of wood, painted green, and ornamented with boughs of fir: it was open at the ſides, and crowned by a dome, ſupported by eight pillars. On the top was the figure of St. John with the croſs, and four paintings, repreſenting ſome miracles of our Saviour: in the inſide a carved image of the Holy Spirit, under the emblem of a dove, was ſuſpended, as is uſual in the ſanctuaries of the Greek churches. The floor of this edifice was carpeted, excepting a ſquare vacancy in the middle, in which an opening was cut in the ice, and a ladder let down into the water. The pavilion was encloſed by

paliſadoes,

paliſadoes, adorned with boughs of fir, and the intermediate ſpace alſo covered with carpets. From one of the windows of the palace a ſcaffolding was erected, ornamented with red cloth, which reached to the extremity of the canal.

At the time appointed, the empreſs appeared at the window of the palace; and the archbiſhop, who was to perform the benediction, paſſed at the head of a numerous proceſſion along the ſcaffolding into the octagon, round which were drawn up a few ſoldiers of each regiment quartered at Peterſburgh. After having pronounced a few prayers *, he deſcended the ladder; plunged a croſs into the water; and then ſprinkled the colours of each regiment. At the concluſion of this ceremony, the archbiſhop retired; and the people ruſhed in crowds into the octagon †, drank with eagerneſs the water, ſprinkled it upon their clothes, and carried ſome of it away for the purpoſe of purifying their houſes.

On the 6th of December we were witneſs to a very ſingular entertainment given to the public by a Ruſſian, who had acquired a large for-

* The reader will find the ceremonies and prayers uſed on this occaſion, in Dr. King's Rites of the Greek Church, p. 386.

† I was informed that ſome of the populace plunged into the water, and that others dipped their children into it; but as I was not myſelf witneſs to theſe circumſtances, I cannot vouch for their truth.

tune

tune by farming, during four years only, the right of vending ſpirituous liquors. On ſurrendering his contract, he gave, as a proof of his gratitude to the lower claſs of people, by whom he had enriched himſelf, a feaſt near the garden of the ſummer-palace, which was announced by hand-bills diſtributed throughout the city. As ſtrangers, deſirous of obſerving the national manners, we did not fail to be preſent at this carouſal, which commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon. A large ſemicircular table was covered with all kinds of proviſion, piled in different ſhapes, and in the greateſt profuſion. Large ſlices of bread and caviare, dried ſturgeon, carp, and other fiſh, were ranged to a great height, in the form of pent-houſes and pyramids, and garniſhed with craw-fiſh, onions, and pickles. In different parts of the grounds were rows of caſks full of ſpirituous liquors, and ſtill larger veſſels of wine, beer, and quaſs. Among the decorations I obſerved the repreſentation of an immenſe whale in paſteboard, covered with cloth and gold or ſilver brocade, and filled in the inſide with bread, dried fiſh, and other proviſions.

All ſorts of games and diverſions were exhibited for the amuſement of the populace. At the extremity of the grounds was a large ſquare of ice well ſwept for the ſcaters; near which were two machines like the ſwinging vehicles at

Bartholomew

Bartholomew Fair. One of theſe machines conſiſted of two croſs-beams fixed horizontally to a pole in the center by means of a pivot: from the ends of the beams hung four ſledges, in which the people ſeated themſelves, and were turned round with great velocity; the other had four wooden horſes ſuſpended from the beams, and the riders were whirled round in the like manner as their rivals in the ſledges. Beyond theſe were two ice-hills, ſimilar to thoſe which I have deſcribed on a former occaſion *, and for the ſame diverſion. Two poles, above twenty feet in height, were alſo erected, with colours flying; and at the top of each was placed a piece of money, as a prize for thoſe who could ſwarm up and ſeize it. The poles, being rubbed with oil, ſoon froze in this ſevere climate; many and tedious were the attempts of the various competitors in this ſlippery aſcent to fame. The ſcene was lively and gay; for above 40,000 perſons of both ſexes were aſſembled on the occaſion.

Having thus far ſatisfied our curioſity, we found our way, not without great difficulty, through the crowd to a pavilion in the garden; where the maſter of the feaſt and ſeveral of the nobility were aſſembled, and were regaled with a cold collation, and various ſorts of wine.

* See vol. II. Book IV. Chap. 3.

It was preconcerted, that, on firing a rocket, the people were to drink a glaſs of ſpirituous liquor, and, on the diſcharge of a ſecond, to begin the repaſt. But the impatience of the populace anticipated the neceſſity of the ſecond ſignal; and the whole multitude was ſoon and at once in motion. The whale was the chief object of contention: within the ſpace of a few minutes he was entirely diveſted of his gaudy trappings, which became the ſpoils of his ſucceſsful invaders. They had no ſooner ſtead off his drapery, and ſecured the fragments of rich brocade; than they rent him into a thouſand pieces, to ſeize the proviſions with which his inſide was ſtored. The remaining people, who were too numerous to be all engaged in contending about the whale, were employed in uncovering the pent-houſes, and pulling down the pyramids; in conveying with one hand provender to their mouths, and with the other to their pockets. Others crowded round the caſks and hogſheads; and with great wooden ladles lapped inceſſantly wine, beer, and ſpirits. The confuſion and riot, which ſoon ſucceeded, is better conceived than deſcribed; and we thought it expedient to retire. The evening was cloſed with a ſuperb illumination of the gardens, and magnificent fire-works.

But the conſequences of this feaſt were indeed dreadful. The cold had ſuddenly increaſed with

ſuch

ſuch violence, that Fahrenheit's thermometer, which at mid-day ſtood only at 4, ſunk towards the cloſe of the evening to 15 below freezing point. Many intoxicated perſons were frozen to death; not a few fell a ſacrifice to drunken quarrels; and others were robbed and murdered in the more retired parts of the city, as they were returning late to their homes. From a compariſon of the various reports, we had reaſon to conclude, that at leaſt 400 perſons loſt their lives upon this melancholy occaſion *.

The Ruſſian baths have been deſcribed by every traveller who has given to the public any relation of this country. Inſtead of tranſcribing from the accounts of others, I ſhall relate what fell under my own immediate notice.

In one of the Ruſſian villages we entered a bathing-houſe, and examined it with as much attention as the extreme heat would permit. It was a wooden building of one room, with ſmall windows like thoſe of the common cottages. Within an old woman was employed in preparing the bath; and as the violent ſmoke and heat rendered it ſcarcely poſſible for us to ſtay in the room for the ſpace of a minute, we took our ſtation at the door, and obſerved the proceſs.

* The following day I counted myſelf no leſs than forty bodies, collected in two ſheds near the place of entertainment.

She firſt made a fire under an arch of large granite ſtones four feet in height; and when they were ſufficiently heated, ſhe ſprinkled them at different intervals with water, which flew off in vapour. She then took from the fire, by means of two ſticks, ſeveral ſmall red-hot pebbles, and put them into pails and troughs of water, which acquired different degrees of warmth. In half an hour three men entered the bath; and, taking off their clothes, remained within, while the old woman continued to throw water upon the arch of ſtones, which heated the room to a prodigious degree. They then lay down upon a ſort of table; and, having lathered their bodies with ſoap, ſhe rubbed them lightly with a bundle of twigs in full foliage. On account of the exceſſive heat, we were driven from the door; and ſoon afterwards the men, their bodies ſuffuſed with a deep crimſon from the effects of the vapour, ruſhed out, plunged themſelves into the river, and re-entered the bath.

Another bath which we entered near the convent of Yurief at Novogorod, being larger and more commodious, we were able to remain for ſome time ſpectators of the whole proceſs. It was a large wooden building, containing, like that juſt deſcribed, only one room; and was provided with ranges of broad benches, placed like ſteps one above the other, almoſt to the height

height of the ceiling. Within were about twenty perſons undreſſed; ſome were lying upon the benches; ſome were ſitting; others ſtanding; ſome were waſhing their bodies with ſoap; others rubbing themſelves with ſmall branches of oak-leaves tied together like a rod; ſome were pouring hot water upon their heads, others cold water; a few, almoſt exhauſted by the heat, were ſtanding in the open air, or repeatedly plunging into the Volkof*.

I ſhall add on this ſubject the following ac-

* Travellers are too apt not to diſtinguiſh between the cuſtoms of the common people and thoſe of the nobles; often imputing to the latter what is true only of the former. The Abbé de Chappe, in his account of his Journey through Siberia, has in many inſtances been guilty of this abſurdity; and the reader is led to conclude from his narrative, that the nobles bathe promiſcuouſly in public like the common people; that they are equally addicted to ſpirituous liquors; and that they are as rude and inelegant in their entertainments and behaviour; the very reverſe of which is the fact. The author of the Antidote to his Travels has not failed, with a glow of national patriotiſm, to cenſure ſuch indiſcriminate accounts. In no one inſtance has the Abbé been more erroneous than in his deſcription of the baths. After a ludicrous relation of them, he adds, "Theſe baths are in uſe all over Ruſſia; every inhabitant of this vaſt tract of land, from the ſovereign to the meaneſt ſubject, bathes twice a week, and in the ſame manner. Every individual, even of the ſmalleſt fortune, has a private bath in his own houſe, in which the father, mother, and children ſometimes bathe all together." And again, "The baths of the rich differ only from thoſe of the poor people in being more clean." But ſuch ſhameful miſrepreſentations ſcarcely deſerve to be mentioned, were it not to expoſe their falſity.

count communicated to me by an Engliſh gentleman at Peterſburgh, who was ordered to bathe for his health. "The bathing-room was ſmall and low, and contained a heap of large ſtones piled over a fire, and two broad benches, one near the ground, and the other near the ceiling. Small buckets of water being occaſionally thrown upon the heated ſtones, filled the room with a hot and ſuffocating vapour; which, from its tendency to aſcend, rendered the upper part much hotter than the lower. Having taken off my clothes, I laid myſelf down upon the higheſt bench; while the bathing woman was preparing tubs of hot and cold water, and continued to increaſe the vapour in the manner above mentioned. Having dipped a branch of twigs into the hot water, ſhe repeatedly ſprinkled, and then rubbed with it my whole body. In about half an hour I removed to the lower bench, which I found much cooler; when the bathing-woman lathered me from head to foot with ſoap, ſcrubbed me with flannel for the ſpace of ten minutes; and throwing ſeveral buckets of warm water over me, till the ſoap was entirely waſhed off, ſhe finally dried me with napkins. As I put on my clothes in a room without a fire, I had an opportunity of remarking, that the cold air had little effect on my body, though in ſo heated a ſtate; for while I was dreſſing, I felt a glow of warmth which

continued during the whole night. This circumſtance convinced me, that, when the natives ruſh from the vapour-baths into the river, or even roll in the ſnow, their ſenſations are in no reſpect diſagreeable, nor the effects in any degree unwholeſome."

Though the hardineſs of the Ruſſians has, with reaſon, been generally attributed to the ſudden extremes of heat and cold, which they experience on theſe occaſions; yet other cauſes are not wanting that may concur to this effect. The peaſants change their dreſs without the leaſt attention to the variation of the ſeaſons; on the ſame day they wear only their coarſe ſhirts and drawers, or are clad in the warmeſt clothing. They are totally unacquainted with the luxury of beds; ſleeping either upon the tops of their ſtoves, or on the bare floor, ſometimes in their clothes, and at other times almoſt naked. Their cottages alſo are rendered exceedingly hot, from the number of perſons crowded into a ſmall ſpace, and from the ſtoves, which are almoſt always heated, even in the midſt of ſummer; ſo that when they go out, it is like iſſuing from a warm bath into the open air. The children are not tenderly nurtured, but are equally inured from their earlieſt infancy to the moſt oppoſite extremes. We ſeldom, indeed, paſſed through a village, in which we did not obſerve ſeveral running about

the ſtreets; and others, who were ſcarcely able to crawl, ſtanding or lying near the doors of the cottages, with no other covering than their ſhirts, even in rainy or froſty weather. Thus the natives are uſed to ſudden changes of heat and cold, and accuſtomed from their infancy to the hardieſt kind of life.

CHAP. 9.

Journey from Peterſburgh to Riga.—Hiſtory of Livonia.—Narva.—Dorpt.—Riga.—Anecdotes of General Brown.

AN excurſion through Livonia and Courland will form the ſubject of this and the following chapter.

May 8, 1785. Quitting St. Peterſburgh, we purſued our journey through Eſthonia, and Livonia, conquered from the Swedes by Peter the Great.

As theſe provinces bordering upon Ruſſia, Sweden, and Poland, and reciprocally poſſeſſed by thoſe three powers, were, during a period of more than two centuries, a conſtant ſource of the moſt bloody wars, it may not be unneceſſary to ſtate briefly their hiſtory, and to trace the cauſes which rendered them objects of contention.

In 1158, ſome merchants of Bremen, bound to Wiſby, in the iſle of Gothland *, driven by ſtreſs of weather, landed at the mouth of the Duna, trafficked with the natives, and gradually eſtabliſhed a ſettlement. A German monk of the Auguſtine order, who accompanied the new coloniſts, acquired the language of the country, converted ſeveral of the natives to Chriſtianity,

* Nachrichter von Liefland, S. R. G. v. 9. p. 263.

and perſuaded them to be baptized. According to the cuſtom of that barbarous æra, an order of knighthood, firſt called the Knights of Chriſt, and afterwards with more propriety the Knights of the Sword, was inſtituted for the propagation of Chriſtianity by force of arms. Thoſe military miſſionaries, equally fanatic and ſanguinary, gradually over-ran the country, and reducing the antient inhabitants, rendered them at the ſame time Chriſtians and ſlaves.

In 1231, theſe knights, being incorporated in the Teutonic order, ſtyled themſelves Knights and Lords of the Croſs, and purchaſed Eſthonia, in 1521, from the king of Denmark. Walter Plettenburgh, chief or general, having obtained from the grand maſter of the Teutonic order the juriſdiction of Livonia, was conſidered as independent, and admitted by Charles the Fifth among the princes of the empire. The knights continued in poſſeſſion of Eſthonia and Livonia, until the impolitic conduct of their maſters, and civil diſſenſions, incited the ambition of the neighbouring powers, and involved the country in a ſeries of bloody wars.

In 1556, the archbiſhop of Riga being impriſoned by Walter Furſtenburgh, general of the order, implored the aſſiſtance of his uncle Sigiſmond Auguſtus king of Poland. Sigiſmond immediately armed in favour of his nephew, invaded Livonia,

Livonia, and compelled Walter Furſtenberg to releaſe the archbiſhop to liberty, and to conclude a treaty, by which he acknowledged himſelf and the province of Livonia dependent on the crown of Poland.

But Ivan Vaſſilievitch, whoſe anceſtors poſſeſſed Dorpt, and other neighbouring towns in Livonia and Eſthonia, laid claim to theſe provinces, and entering Livonia with a formidable army, reſolved to annex them to the Ruſſian empire. In this imminent danger, the city of Revel, and the inhabitants of Eſthonia, threw themſelves under the protection of the king of Sweden, who, in taking poſſeſſion of that province, claimed Livonia as an annexed dependency. At the ſame time the Ruſſians, entering Livonia, met with little reſiſtance, took Furſtenberg, the grand maſter, priſoner, and over-ran the country.

Gothard Ketler, who was appointed grand maſter in the place of Furſtenberg, unable to reſiſt the Ruſſian arms, haſtily concluded a treaty with Sigiſmond Auguſtus, ceded Livonia to the crown of Poland, on condition of reſerving to himſelf and heirs male the duchies of Courland and Semigallia as fiefs of Poland. At the concluſion of this treaty, Livonia, the object of contention, thus ceded to Poland, was partly poſſeſſed by the Poles, partly by the Swedes, and partly over-run by the Ruſſians.

In

In this ſituation of affairs, Ivan Vaſſilievitch conferred on Magnus prince of Denmark, who, in the capacity of biſhop of Pilten in Courland, had ſome pretenſions to Livonia, the nominal ſovereignty of that province. Having already related * the account of that tranſaction, together with the erection and extinction of the ſhort-lived kingdom of Livonia, I ſhall only add, that Ivan Vaſſilievitch, being worſted by Stephen Bathori, king of Poland, in ſeveral engagements, purchaſed a peace, by ceding, in 1582, to the crown of Poland, all that part of Livonia which he had occupied: but the king of Sweden continued in poſſeſſion of Eſthonia; and, by the fourth article of the peace of Oliva, obtained poſſeſſion of all Livonia. Theſe important provinces, containing all the northern diſtrict between the gulf of Finland, the Narova, the Peipus lake, and the Duna, and ſtretching to the boundaries of the preſent government of Polotſk, were wreſted from the Swedes by Peter the Great, and confirmed to the Ruſſians by the peace of Ryſtadt, in 1721.

The reformation was firſt introduced into Livonia and Eſthonia in 1522, and ſoon embraced by all ranks of people. The Lutheran religion is the moſt prevalent; but all other ſects are tolerated.

* Book III. Ch. 6.

Narva

Narva and its ſuburbs, according to a geographical diviſion, are ſituated partly in Ingria, and partly in Eſthonia, as the river Narova divides thoſe two provinces; but, in the diviſion of governments eſtabliſhed by the empreſs, is compriſed in Ingria, or the government of St. Peterſburgh.

Narva ſtands on the Narova, near 100 miles from Peterſburgh, 24 from the point where that river iſſues from the lake Peipus, and eight miles from its mouth, where it falls into the gulf of Finland. The houſes are built of brick ſtuccoed white, and it has more the appearance of a German than of a Ruſſian town. In the ſuburbs, called Ivangorod, the coloſſal remains of an antient fortreſs, built by Ivan Vaſſilievitch the Great, impend in a picturesque manner over the ſteep banks of the Narova.

The principal exports are hemp, flax, timber, and corn; the imports, ſalt, tobacco, wine, ſalted herrings, ſpices, tea, ſugar, and other grocery wares.

I did not omit viſiting the two falls of the river Narova, which have been pompouſly deſcribed by ſeveral travellers, but appear trifling and unintereſting to thoſe who have ſeen the fall of the Rhine at Schaffhauſen, of the Dahl, near Geſle, in Sweden, and the ſtupendous cataracts of Trolhætta. The breadth of the river is 200 feet, and the perpendicular height of the falls ſcarcely exceeds

exceeds twenty. The ſteep and chalky banks of the river, its rapid and turbid ſtream, and a rocky iſland which ſeparates the two falls, form a rugged and pictureſque ſcene, much heightened by the foam and roaring of the cataract.

Near Narva is the ſpot celebrated for the victory which Charles the Twelfth, in the nineteenth year of his age, gained over the Ruſſian army (1700). Authors prone to exaggeration, and willing to render more marvellous the exploits of the Swediſh hero, have diminiſhed his army to 8000, and increaſed the Ruſſians to 100,000. The fact ſeems to be, that Charles headed, on that memorable day, at leaſt 9,000 men, and the Ruſſians did not exceed 32,000 *. And it is no wonder that the veteran troops of Sweden, led on by their undaunted monarch, ſhould triumph over a raw undiſciplined army, commanded by generals at variance with each other. Six thouſand Ruſſians, including thoſe drowned in attempting to paſs the Narova, fell in this engagement; but the conſequences were ſtill more fatal to the Ruſſian arms, as the whole artillery was loſt, and the greater part of the infantry ſurrendered to the conqueror. The number of priſoners was ſo great, that the officers were only detained; the reſt were driven, like a flock of

* See L'Eveſque's Hiſt. de Ruſſie, vol. iv. p. 169.

ſheep,

ſheep, to the diſtance of a league from Narva, and diſmiſſed.

Peter the Great, not diſpirited with this loſs, exclaimed, "I expected that the Swedes would beat my troops; but in time they will teach us to conquer them." Nor was this prediction long before it was verified. In leſs than five years from the defeat at Narva, he revenged the diſhonour of his arms on that unfortunate day, by taking the town by aſſault; and gave a ſingular proof of his humanity. He traverſed the ſtreets on horſeback, with his drawn ſword in his hand, reſtrained his troops from pillage, killed two who refuſed to deſiſt, placed guards at the doors of the principal houſes and before the churches, repaired to the Hotel de Ville, where the magiſtrates and citizen had taken refuge, and throwing his ſword upon the table, exclaimed. "It is not ſtained with the blood of the natives, but with that of my own ſoldiers, whom I killed in order to ſave your lives *."

Dorpt, 174 verſts, or 116 miles, from Narva, bears evident marks of the dreadful devaſtation which it ſuffered in the wars between the Swedes and Ruſſians in the beginning of this century; and particularly in the ruins of the cathedral, which form a pictureſque object on an adjacent

* L'Eveſque, p. 201.

hill.

hill. In addition to theſe devaſtations, the town ſuffered a few years ago from a violent conflagration; but is now rebuilding, and will riſe more beautiful from its ruins, as the empreſs has contributed with her uſual munificence. A wooden bridge over the Empac was likewiſe burnt down, but has been ſupplied by a magnificent ſtone bridge, on which I remarked this arrogant inſcription:

* Siſte impetus hic flumen,
Catharina II. jubet;
Cujus munificentia hæc moles
In publicum commodum
Extructa, Livoniaque primo
Lapideo ponte adornata.
1783.

In purſuing our route from Narva to Dorpt, we coaſted the lake Peipus, a large but unintereſting piece of water, the banks flat, and the environs moſtly ſandy.

Dorpt ſtands in the moſt fertile part of Livonia, called, from the abundance of grain, the Granary of the North; and this fertile diſtrict continued till we came within a few miles of Riga,

* Here, O river, ſtop your impetuous courſe, Catharine the Second commands; by whoſe munificence this mound was raiſed, and Livonia adorned with this firſt ſtone bridge.

which

which is inveſted, as Wraxall juſtly obſerves, "on every ſide with deep barren ſands. Its ſituation in ſo barren a ſpot was choſen by commerce, the genius of which ſtill protects and enriches it*."

Riga, the capital of Livonia, contains within the fortifications 9,000 inhabitants, and in the ſuburbs 15,000, excluſive of a garriſon of 1,000 ſoldiers †. It derives its conſequence from its ſituation on the Duna, a river which, being navigable from the frontiers of the government of Polotſk, brings the productions of the north-eaſtern parts of Poland, and the weſtern provinces of Ruſſia, and is ſufficiently deep to receive, cloſe to its walls, ſhips of burthen, which ſail to and from the Baltic.

Next to St. Peterſburgh it is the moſt commercial town in the Ruſſian empire. The trade is chiefly carried on by foreign merchants, who are reſident in the town. The Engliſh factory enjoy the greateſt ſhare of the commerce, and live in a hoſpitable and ſplendid manner. The principal exports are corn, hemp, flax, iron, timber, maſts, leather, tallow; the imports, ſalt, cloth, ſilks, wine, grocery, pot-aſh, and ſalted herrings.

The maſt trade is peculiarly beneficial to the

* Wraxall's Northern Tour, p. 281.

† According to Heym, in the town and ſuburbs, 14,280 males, and 13,516 females.

town: The burghers of Riga ſend perſons, who are called maſt-brokers, into the Ruſſian provinces, to mark the trees which are purchaſed ſtanding. They grow moſtly on the diſtricts which border on the Dnieper, are ſent up that river to a landing-place, tranſported thirty verſts to the Duna, are then formed into floats of from 50 to 200 pieces, and deſcend the ſtream to Riga. The tree which produces the largeſt maſts is the Scotch fir. Thoſe pieces which are from 18 to 25 inches in diameter are called maſts; under thoſe dimenſions, ſpars, or, in England, Norway maſts; becauſe Norway exports no trees more than 18 inches in diameter.

The Engliſh merchants, who contract with government, buy the maſts from the burghers of Riga; and great ſkill is required in diſtinguiſhing thoſe that are ſound throughout from thoſe which are in the leaſt internally decayed. They are uſually from 70 to 80 feet in length.

The hemp is brought from the Ukraine and Poland, and requires two years in its paſſage to Riga. The barks in which it is conveyed, are from 250 to 300 tons burthen, are covered with mats, ſloping like a penthouſe roof, and have a falſe bottom. They aſcend the Dnieper and the Duna; but on account of numerous ſhoals can only paſs the Duna in the ſpring, or about three weeks after the ſnow begins to melt, and if they miſs

miſs that time, are delayed till autumn. The hemp exported from Riga, is generally more eſteemed, and 30 per cent. dearer, than that exported from Peterſburgh *; the former comes from the Ukraine, the provinces of Mohilef and Polotſk, and the neighbouring parts of Poland; the other from the governments of Tver and Novogorod. The Riga hemp is chiefly uſed for ſhrouds and ſtays of men of war, and procured by contract for the Engliſh admiralty and Eaſt India company †.

* Lately the Ukraine hemp has found its way to Peterſburgh.

† In caſe of neceſſity, the *Urtican Cannabina*, or hemp-nettle, might be ſubſtituted in the place of hemp. It is a native of ſouth-eaſtern Siberia, on the other ſide of the Oby, and is chiefly found in the vallies, between rocky mountains, and on the banks of rivers. It comes out early in the ſpring, and affords good ſhoots, which are eaten by the natives as vegetables. It flowers in June or July; and in good ſoils ſhoots from ten to fifteen feet high. In Siberia the ſeeds ripen in September, about the time of the firſt froſt. It is perennial, and multiplies by running. The cords made from this ſpecies are ſtronger even than thoſe twiſted from hemp. The Mongol Tartars uſe them for cords to their bows, and for nets to catch animals in the woods. In ſome parts of Germany the natives employ them for ropes. This plant is deſcribed in Amman's *Stirpium Rariorum in imperio Ruthено Icones et Deſcriptiones*, p. 173. No. 249. plate 25. *Urtica foliis profunde laciniatis*; alſo in Gmelin's Flora Siberica. It will be deſcribed in the third volume of Pallas' Flora Ruſſica.

The common nettle, the *urtica urens* of Linnæus, ſupplies the natives of Kamtſchatka *, and of the Kuril Iſles, with cords for fiſhing-nets.

* See cook's laſt voyage, vol. iii. p. 339.—Pallas Nord. Beytr. vol. iv. p. 117.

The inhabitants of Riga carry on alſo a conſiderable commerce in ſalt. They import it from Spain, and ſend it up the Duna to ſupply the diſtricts bordering on that river; and by land into Courland, and into the neighbouring provinces of Poland.

We paid our reſpects to General Brown, governor of Riga, and had the honour of dining with that gallant veteran, who, with a pleaſing garrulity natural to old age, related a variety of intereſting adventures, that had befallen him in the courſe of a long and active life. He is a native of Ireland, and was born in the beginning of this century. Being a Roman catholic, he was compelled to ſeek his fortune in foreign courts, which he would willingly have dedicated to his own. He firſt entered the Auſtrian, and finally into the Ruſſian ſervice. In the campaigns of 1737 and 1738, he ſerved under Count Munich againſt the Turks, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Otchakof. Being ſent with a corps of troops into Hungary, he was taken priſoner by the Turks, ſold as a ſlave, and transferred to four different maſters. At one time he was bound back to back with another priſoner for eight-and-forty hours, and expoſed almoſt naked at the various places where ſlaves are brought for ſale. He then bore the rank of colonel in the Ruſſian ſervice, but, to leſſen the price of his ranſom,

ranſom, aſſerted that he was only a captain. Being accidentally met by a gentleman, to whom he was perſonally known, he ſent an account of his ſituation to the French ambaſſador, who found means to purchaſe him for 300 ducats. But his Turkiſh maſter diſcovering his rank, reclaimed his priſoner, and threatened to recover him by force. The French ambaſſador, however, applied to the Grand Vizir, who decided in his favour: Count Brown recovered his liberty, and returned to Ruſſia, in which ſervice he was gradually promoted, and has been lately appointed governor of Riga, a place of the greateſt truſt.

Over the Duna, at Riga, is a floating wooden bridge, 40 feet in breadth, and 2,600 in length. A row of piles extends from one ſhore to the other; each pile is from 25 to 40 feet long, according to the depth of the river, and appears about four feet above the level of the water. To theſe piles the parts of the bridge are looſely faſtened, by means of iron chains fixed to the tranſverſe beams. The bridge riſes and falls with the river; and, under the wheels of heavy-laden carriages, plays as if actuated by a ſpring. It is the faſhionable walk, and is an agreeable buſy ſcene, when crowded with people, and lined on each ſide with ſhips taking in or unloading their cargoes. In the beginning of winter, when

the froſt ſets in, the bridge is removed; the piles remaining in the water are forced up by the ice, and conveyed to land; and the whole is again laid down in the ſpring.

The importance of the trade of Riga will appear from the following tables:

Number of Veſſels which arrived at RIGA, 1782 and 1783.

	1782.	1783.
Daniſh	125	145
French	—	8
From St. Peterſburgh	43	38
Engliſh	94	200
Dutch	6	122
Swediſh	298	422
Pruſſian	153	123
From Oſtend	123	66
Portugueſe	7	7
American	—	1
From Bremen	16	34
Dantzic	5	10
Lubec	29	26
Roſtoc	23	3
Hamburgh	5	5
Pernau	4	6
From Riga	30	38
Total	961	1,254

Veſſels which arrived and ſailed from RIGA, in 1784; ſpecifying thoſe which wintered there.

	Wintered.	Arrived.	Departed.
Daniſh	—	160	160
French	—	10	10
From St. Peterſburgh	14	32	36
Engliſh	3	175	174
Portugueſe	—	4	4
Pruſſian	2	77	77
Swediſh	4	311	311
Dutch	—	170	170
From Oſtend	—	33	33
Genoa	—	1	1
Hamburgh	—	12	12
Lubec	4	27	27
Bremen	1	25	24
Dantzic	—	3	3
Roſtoc	—	11	11
Pernau & Revel	—	4	4
Riga	15	30	20
Total	43	1,085	1,077

Value of the Cargoes of the Veſſels which ſailed from RIGA, in 1784.

	Roubles.	Copecs.
For Denmark - - -	735,335	78 —
France - - -	270,886	68 —
the Dominions of the Emperor -	51,209	45 —
England - - -	1,288,284	58 —
Spain - - -	388,843	1 —
Portugal - - -	302,213	93 —
Pruſſia - - -	64,775	75 —
Sweden - - -	1,182,907	79 —
Holland - - -	1,470,320	93 —
Italy - - -	135,097	8 —
Hamburgh and Bremen - -	209,840	7 —
the Baltic - - -	292,707	39 —
Total of Exports - -	6,392,422	44 —
Value of the Imports - -	1,422,717	87 12
Exceſs of Exports - -	4,969,704	56 12

COIN IMPORTED.

	Value in Roubles.
Ducats 448,739 - -	1,207,741 10
New rix-dollars 1,780,744¼ -	2,368,389 85¼
Old rix-dollars 138,976¾ -	1,182,058 84¼
Sum total of Coin imported -	4,758,189 79½

CHAP. 10.

Mittau.—Duchy of Courland.—Hiſtory.—Succeſſion.—Anecdotes of Erneſt John Biron.—Conſtitution.—Feodal Dependance on Poland.—Prerogatives of the Duke.—Diet.—Nobles.—Religion.—Language.—Memmel.—Journey to Koningſburgh.—Sketch of the Hiſtory of Pruſſia.

QUITTING Riga we croſſed the Duna, paſſed through a flat ſandy country, thinly inhabited, to the Ruſſian frontiers, about ſixteen Engliſh miles diſtant from Riga, and entered the duchy of Courland. Our baggage was ſtrictly ſearched by a Ruſſian cuſtom-houſe officer, who even opened our portfolios, and examined the ſmalleſt pieces of paper. This ſtrict ſearch is made to prevent foreigners from exporting Ruſſian money; but, conſidering the debaſed ſtate of the coinage, is an uſeleſs precaution.

Mittau, which ſtands in the midſt of a fertile and agreeable country, is a long town, containing a mixture of brick houſes, ſtuccoed white, and wooden buildings. The palace*, built by the late duke, is a great pile of buildings, with a large and handſome ſuite of apartments, but

* Great part of this palace was demoliſhed by the late emperor Paul. It has been lately diſtinguiſhed as the temporary reſidence of Louis XVIII.

almoſt

almoſt totally unfurniſhed. Its magnificence and extent almoſt juſtifies the witticiſm of a traveller, who eſtimating the country not from its ſize, but from its trivial conſequence in the ſcale of the north, affirmed that the palace was larger than the dukedom. The academy, inſtituted by the preſent duke at a conſiderable expence, contained, in May 1685, eight profeſſors, and only twenty ſtudents.

The duchy of Courland and Semigallia is bounded on the north by the Baltic, on the eaſt by Livonia, and by Poland on the ſouth and weſt. It ſtretches in length 250 miles, and the average breadth may be eſtimated at 40.

Gothard Ketler, grand-maſter of the Livonian knights, having ceded Livonia to Poland, at Wilna, received, in 1561, the inveſtiture of Courland and Semigallia, as an hereditary fief of the crown of Poland. Dying in 1587, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Frederic; and, in 1589, it was enacted by the diet of Poland, that, on the extinction of the heirs male of the line of Ketler, the duchies of Courland and Semigallia ſhould be united to Poland.

Frederick William, duke of Courland, dying, in 1711, without iſſue, the right of ſucceſſion devolved on his great uncle Ferdinand, the only ſurviving branch of the Ketler line; but Peter the Great took poſſeſſion of Mittau and great

part of Courland, under pretence of ſecuring the dowry for his niece Anne, widow of Frederic William. Ferdinand, who was abſent, and at variance with his nobility, was unable to enforce his right, and Courland, during ſeveral years, was governed by the Ruſſian court, under the name of the Ducheſs Anne. The country was in a ſtate of civil confuſion, and ſeveral ineffectual attempts were made to raiſe, firſt, a prince of the houſe of Saxony, and afterwards Frederic William, Margrave of Schvedt, to the ducal throne.

At length, in 1726, the infirmities and abſence of Ferdinand afforded a pretext; a party of nobles determined to appoint a ſucceſſor, and Auguſtus the Second, king of Poland, ſecretly influenced the diet to nominate his natural ſon Maurice, afterwards well known under the title of Marſhal Saxe. This appointment was conteſted by the republic of Poland, and by Catharine empreſs of Ruſſia.

The Poliſh diet, which aſſembled at Grodno, denied the right of the nobles to appoint a duke, declared that duchy a vacant fief belonging to the republic, annulled the election of the Count of Saxe, and propoſed, on the death of Ferdinand, to incorporate the duchies of Courland and Semigallia with the crown, according to the edict in 1589.

Catharine

Catharine the Firſt, conſidering Courland almoſt as a province of the Ruſſian empire, equally oppoſed the election of Maurice, and the incorporation of Courland; and prince Mentchikof, who, on her death, aſpired to the ducal throne, diſpatched a corps of Ruſſian troops to Mittau, and drove Maurice from Courland. The fall of Mentchikof prevented his nomination; but the Ruſſians, under Peter the Second, and Anne, maintained their influence in Courland, and promiſed to ſupport the ſtates in their right to elect a ſovereign on the deceaſe of Ferdinand.

The death of Auguſtus the Second annihilated the hopes of Maurice; and, on the demiſe of Ferdinand, in 1737, the empreſs Anne forced the ſtates to nominate her favourite Biron, and ſupported his election in oppoſition to the claims and remonſtrances of Poland. At length, deputies from the empreſs and the new duke on one ſide, and from the king and republic of Poland on the other, arranged the convention called *Pacta Subjectionis*, or Acts of Vaſſalage, which regulated the conſtitution of Courland according to former acts of vaſſalage, and eſtabliſhed the ſucceſſion in the male line of Biron. In 1739, the chancellor of Courland did homage in the name of the duke to Auguſtus the Third. But, in 1740, Biron being arreſted and impriſoned, the ſtates declared the ducal throne va-

cant,

cant, and elected, at the recommendation of the regent Anne, Louis Erneſt, prince of Brunſwick, and brother of her huſband Anthony Ulric.

The revolution of 1741, which placed Elizabeth on the throne of Ruſſia, prevented the ratification of this election; and from that period, till 1759, the adminiſtration was nominally veſted in the council of ſtate; but the whole power centered in the court of Ruſſia.

In 1758, the nobles, diſguſted with their rulers, choſe Charles Chriſtian, ſon of Auguſtus the Third, who received the inveſtiture of the two duchies from his father, made his entry into Mittau, and repairing to Peterſburgh, obtained from the empreſs Elizabeth the reſtitution of the ducal eſtates and revenues, and her renunciation of all right and title to thoſe two duchies. But the death of Elizabeth, in 1761, rendered this reſtitution ineffectual. Peter recalled Biron from exile, and Catharine reſtored him to his former dignity.

Erneſt John Biron * was deſcended from a family

* For this account of Biron I have conſulted Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 42, 47, 62, 190, 263, 265, 268, 280. Letters from a Lady in Ruſſia, Let. xxviii. xxix; Schmidt's Materialien fuer den Ruſſ. Geſh. p. 38, 44, 281, 321; Motifs de la Diſgrace d'Erneſt Jean de Biron, Duc de Courland, written by himſelf, in Buſching's Hiſt. Magazin. vol. ix. p. 383, 398; Antworf auf die Vergehende Schrift.

mily of mean extraction. His grandfather, whoſe name was Buren, or Bieren, was head groom to James the Third, duke of Courland, and obtained from his maſter the gift of a ſmall eſtate. His ſon accompanied prince Alexander, youngeſt ſon of the duke of Courland, in a campaign againſt the Turks, in quality of groom of his horſe, and with the rank of lieutenant. Prince Alexander being killed before Buda, in 1686, Biron returned into Courland, and was appointed maſter-huntſman to the duke.

Erneſt John, his ſecond ſon, was born in 1687, received the early part of his education in Courland, and was ſent to the univerſity of Konigſburg in Pruſſia, where he continued until ſome youthful imprudences compelled him to retire. In 1714, he made his appearance at St. Peterſburgh, and ſolicited the place of page to the princeſs Charlotte, wife of the tzarovitch Alexey; but being rejected as a perſon of mean extraction, retired to Mittau, and ingratiated himſelf with count Beſtuchef, maſter of the houſhold to Anne, widow of Frederic William duke of Courland. Having through his means obtained the office of gentleman of the chamber to the ducheſs, and being of a handſome figure and po-

Schrift. von einem naechſten Verwandten des Grafen von Munich, ibid. p. 401, 414; Gouvernement de l'Empire de Ruſſie, by Marſhal Munich, paſſim.

lite

lite addreſs, he ſoon became her chief favourite, and the firſt uſe which he made of his favour, was to obtain the diſgrace of his benefactor Beſtuchef. He gained an entire aſcendency over the affections of his miſtreſs, and the upſtart favourite offended, by his arrogance, the whole body of the nobility.

Having eſpouſed Mademoiſelle de Trenden, a lady of noble family, and maid of honour to the ducheſs, he endeavoured, by means of that alliance, and the favour of his miſtreſs, to be admitted into the body of nobles; but his ſolicitations were rejected with great contempt.

His aſcendency over the ducheſs, his ſpirit of intrigue, and extreme arrogance, were ſo notorious, that when Anne was declared ſovereign of Ruſſia, one of the articles propoſed by the council of ſtate at Moſcow, expreſsly ſtipulated, that ſhe ſhould not bring Biron into Ruſſia. She conſented, but inſtantly broke her word; for ſoon after her arrival at Moſcow, he made his appearance at her court. By his ſecret advice, the empreſs formed a ſtrong party among the Ruſſian nobility, gained the guards, and planned the revolution, which reſtored to the crown deſpotic authority. But when the project was ripe for execution, Anne heſitated, and was alarmed, till Biron took her by the hand, and led her to the door

door of the apartment in which the council of ſtate, ſenate, and principal nobility were aſſembled, and ſhe was declared abſolute ſovereign. Within the ſpace of a few months, Biron was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber, knight of the order of St. Andrew, lord high-chamberlain, and, as Manſtein ſays, was omnipotent in the government.

On the death of Ferdinand Ketler, in 1737, the empreſs diſpatched general Biſmarck, governor of Riga, to Mittau, at the head of a conſiderable army. The nobles having aſſembled in the cathedral, Biſmarck ſurrounded the church with troops, and compelled them to elect for their ſovereign the ſame Biron whom they had refuſed to admit into their corps. But his new dignity did not prevent him from keeping his poſt of high chamberlain, and his wife that of firſt lady of the bed-chamber. Biron ruled Courland with the ſame arbitrary ſpirit with which he governed Ruſſia, and the nobles who ventured to oppoſe his will, or to ſpeak with their uſual freedom, were privately ſeized by perſons in maſks, forced into kibitkas, and conveyed to Siberia. The cruelties alſo which he exerciſed upon the moſt illuſtrious perſons of Ruſſia almoſt exceed belief; and Manſtein conjectures, that "during the ten years in which Biron's

power

power continued, above 20,000 perſons were ſent to Siberia, of whom ſcarcely 5,000 were ever more heard of."

The arrogance of his temper often broke forth in a manner highly diſreſpectful to the empreſs. Once in particular while ſhe gave an audience to the duke of Bevern, Biron burſt into the apartment, complained that he was tormented by her ſervants, threatened, with horrid imprecations, to retire into Courland, and again ruſhing out of the room, ſhut the door with great violence. The empreſs, in the higheſt conſternation, lifted up her hands to heaven, then claſped them together, and being almoſt ready to faint, opened the window for air. While ſhe continued in this agitation, the ducheſs of Courland, accompanied with her children, entered the room, kneeled down, and entreated the empreſs to forgive the paſſionate behaviour of her huſband. Anne in this, as in every other inſtance, relented, and patiently endured his inſolence *. During the ſitting of the cabinet council, ſhe frequently repaired to an adjoining room, in which her favourite remained, to receive his advice, or rather his orders. She even kept no table, but dined with his family.

Acquainted only with the German and his na-

* Buſching's Wochentliche Nachrichten, 1774, p. 316.

tive jargon, he governed the extenſive empire of Ruſſia without underſtanding the language. He even piqued himſelf on his ignorance, and declared, in the preſence of the empreſs, that he would not learn the Ruſſian, becauſe he could not bear to read all the reports and memorials which were daily tranſmitted to him.

Biron was undoubtedly a man of great capacity; during his whole adminiſtration, the external ſplendour, and internal tranquillity of the Ruſſian empire, announced the vigour and wiſdom of his meaſures, and he ſhewed his judgment in employing ſuch a ſtateſman as Oſterman, and ſuch a general as Munich. He was a ſincere friend and an implacable enemy; and it was juſtly ſaid of him, that he ſeldom forgot a benefit, and always remembered an injury. He amaſſed an enormous fortune in money and jewels; and on public occaſions his magnificence * far exceeded that of the empreſs.

Having long directed the affairs of a great

* In his viſit of ceremony to the Marquis de la Chetardie, the French embaſſador, he was preceded by the following proceſſion: 1. An officer of his court on horſeback. 2. Two ſervants on horſeback. 3. Three carriages drawn by ſix horſes, containing ſix cavaliers. 4. Twenty-four ſervants on horſeback. 5. Six running footmen. 6. Two blacks. 7. Thirty lacquies on foot. 8. Twelve pages. 9. Nine heyducs. 10. His maſter of the horſe. Laſtly, the duke himſelf in a ſplendid carriage drawn by ſix horſes; behind, two ſervants in Turkiſh dreſſes.

empire,

empire, he could not brook retiring into Courland; he accordingly prevailed on the empreſs, on her death-bed, to appoint her great nephew, prince Ivan, her ſucceſſor, and himſelf regent, till the prince attained the age of ſeventeen; and he managed this whole tranſaction with ſo much art, that he ſeemed only to accept the regency at the earneſt requeſt and recommendation of Marſhal Munich, the Chancellor Oſterman, and the principal Ruſſian nobility. Having thus ſecured the regency, to the excluſion of Anne, mother of the young emperor, the firſt act of his adminiſtration was to obtain for himſelf a annual revenue of 500,000 * roubles, and the title of Imperial Highneſs.

But the power thus acquired by intrigue, he attempted to ſecure by perſecution and cruelty. Piquets were placed in the ſtreets to prevent commotions; numerous ſpies brought vague accounts of contemptuous expreſſions and ill-formed plots, and ſcarcely a day paſſed in which ſuſpected perſons were not impriſoned and tortured to force confeſſion. But inſtead of diſarming the envy and jealouſy of the natives, who were diſguſted with the government of a foreigner, he increaſed his unpopularity by the haughtineſs of his demeanour, and treated even

* £.100,000, according to the value of a rouble of that period.

the parents of his ſovereign with extreme brutality.

Prince Anthony Ulric and the princeſs Anne, the father and mother of the infant emperor, were diſaffected at their excluſion from the regency, and Anthony Ulric, who was a prince of great ſpirit, expreſſed his diſapprobation in the ſtrongeſt terms to the regent himſelf. Biron, ſuſpecting that the prince was caballing againſt his government, called on him early one morning, without being announced; "Your highneſs," he ſaid, "does not deal juſtly with me; for you promiſed to inform me of the cabals of diſaffected perſons, and you know that intrigues are carrying on againſt me in your own houſehold." "I know not," replied the prince, "that any thing is in agitation which will be detrimental to the emperor and the country." "I will take care," returned Biron, "to place this empire in ſuch a ſituation as no other perſon is capable of doing; for I am neither deficient in knowledge or power." "The nobles muſt aſſiſt you," ſaid the prince, "and you muſt all be accountable to the emperor." "Am I not regent," replied Biron, "with abſolute authority? Such aſſertions, ſir, may occaſion great commotions; and your highneſs muſt know, that whenever factions ariſe, the emperor and the country are in danger; and what muſt be the inevitable conſequence, ſhould you

you and I be at variance?" "A maſſacre!" returned the prince with great warmth, putting at the ſame time his hand on his ſword.

After much altercation, the prince accuſed Biron of forging the teſtament and ſignature of the empreſs, and the duke quitted the apartment with theſe words: "This affair, ſir, is of great importance, and muſt be laid before the principal nobility of the realm." Repairing inſtantly to his palace, he ſummoned the cabinet council, ſenate, and principal nobility, and acquainted them with the converſation. When the imperial miniſter, Count Keyſerling, endeavoured to juſtify the prince, Biron called the prince a liar; and turning to Keyſerling, ſaid, "We want here no advocates, and no lawyer's quirks;" then traverſing the apartment in extreme agitation, exclaimed, "Am I a poiſoner! or do I contend for the throne and ſcepter!"

To the princeſs Anne, who, informed of the miſunderſtanding, now made her appearance, he recapitulated what had paſſed with great bitterneſs. Anne was exceedingly affected, and appeared to blame her huſband's conduct. At length, the prince himſelf being ſummoned, was prevailed upon to attend. Being reprimanded by Biron, and by ſeveral who were preſent, in the groſſeſt terms, his highneſs at length ſubmitted to demand pardon, the tears ſtarting from his

eyes from this neceſſary but degrading conceſſion.

Soon afterwards, Biron ſent a meſſage by Marſhal Munich, ordering the prince to reſign his military employments.

At variance with the parents of the emperor, ſuſpicious of plots, and deteſted by the nation, the regent became agitated and uneaſy, felt the precarioufneſs of his ſituation, paid his court with great aſſiduity to the princeſs Elizabeth, and ſeems even to have formed the deſign of marrying her to the prince, his eldeſt ſon, and of raiſing her, or her nephew the duke of Holſtein, to the throne. He even declared publicly, that if the princeſs or her huſband were refractory, he would ſend them both into Germany, and place the duke of Holſtein on the throne.

While he was heſitating in regard to his future conduct, and laying plans to remove thoſe gave him umbrage, his own ruin came from a quarter which he did not expect, and was not prepared to reſiſt. Marſhal Munich, ſecretly diſguſted with the regent, fomented the diſcontents, awakened the ſuſpicions of the princeſs Anne, prevailed upon her to order the arreſt of the duke of Courland, and ſucceeded in ſecuring his perſon on the 18th of December, only twenty days after his appointment to the regency. Manſtein,

ſtein, who was employed by Munich on this occaſion*, penetrated, at the head of twenty men, into the palace inhabited by Biron, though guarded by forty ſoldiers, who were placed under the windows of his bed-chamber, and by numerous centinels poſted in the apartments. Being perſonally known to the centinels, they permitted him to paſs, thinking that he had an affair of conſequence to communicate to the regent. Having forced open the door, he approached the bed, in which the duke and ducheſs ſlept ſo ſoundly that the noiſe did not awaken them. On drawing the curtains, both ſtarted up in ſurpriſe, and the duke inſtantly leaped from the bed with an intention to eſcape, but was prevented by Manſtein, who threw himſelf upon him, and held him till the ſoldiers came to his aſſiſtance. In this ſtruggle the duke diſengaged himſelf from Manſtein, and endeavouring to burſt from the ſoldiers who laid hold of his arm, received ſeveral blows with the but-ends of their muſkets. Being at length thrown on the floor, his mouth gagged with a handkerchief, and his hands tied behind with an officer's ſaſh, he was led to the guard-room, covered with a ſoldier's cloak, and conveyed in a carriage to the winter palace in which the princeſs Anne reſided. When

* Memoirs of Manſtein.

he was led out, the ducheſs ſprang out of bed, ran after him into the ſtreet, ſcreaming in an agony of deſpair, till forced away by the ſoldiers, ſhe ſunk down on the ſnow, and would have periſhed had not the captain of the guard furniſhed her with clothes, and re-conducted her to the palace.

The next day the duke and his family were conveyed to the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh, and in June were removed to Pelim, a ſmall town in Siberia, where he was impriſoned in a wooden hovel under the ſtricteſt confinement. But he did not long remain in this dreary ſituation. The empreſs Elizabeth recalled him from his impriſonment; and if his misfortunes had not ſoftened his vindictive ſpirit, he enjoyed the pleaſure of ſeeing his enemy, Marſhal Munich, occupy that hovel which he had juſt quitted.

Biron was transferred to a comfortable manſion at Yaroſlaf, where he received five roubles a day, and the permiſſion of hunting in the vicinity. In this ſituation, wretched when contraſted with his former ſtation as the omnipotent favourite of Anne, or as regent of Ruſſia, but a paradiſe when compared with his priſon at Pelim, he paſſed his days during the whole reign of Elizabeth. On her demiſe, Peter the Third recalled Biron to Peterſburgh, but did not reinſtate him in the duchy of Courland. Biron had refuſed, during his confinement, to

reſign

reſign his right to that duchy, although he was offered his liberty, and a penſion of 100,000 roubles; nor could he be prevailed upon by Peter the Third to abdicate in favour of the duke of Holſtein; nobly adding, that he would undergo a ſecond impriſonment rather than injure his family. Catharine reſtored him to his former dignity.

In 1763, Biron repaired to Mittau, twenty-eight years after his election, and for the firſt time ſince he had been raiſed to the ducal throne. Prince Charles of Saxony, although ſupported by a large party in Courland, yet receiving no aſſiſtance from his father Auguſtus the Third, was compelled to retire before the Ruſſian forces; and Biron received the oaths of allegiance from the whole nation. In 1764, he obtained from the king and republic of Poland the inveſtiture of Courland for his eldeſt ſon Peter, the preſent duke; in 1769, abdicated in his favour, and, in 1772, cloſed at Mittau, in the eighty-third year of his age, a life of unparalleled viciſſitude.

The conſtitution * of Courland is extremely complicated, and the rights of Poland, of the

* For the hiſtory and conſtitution of Courland, ſee Lengnich, Juſ. Publ. Reg. Poloni. lib. I. c. x. ſec. v. to vii. and Ziegennorn's Staats Recht der Hertzogthuemer Courland and Semegallen.

duke,

duke, and of the diet are ſo interwoven, as to be diſcriminated with difficulty.

From the hiſtorical ſketch of the ſucceſſion to theducal throne, it will appear that Courland is a male-fief, dependent on and conferred by the crown of Poland. The territorial ſuperiority of Poland is ſettled by the *Pacta Subjectionis*, or acts of vaſſalage, ratified by the king and duke, on the receipt of the inveſtiture. The king inveſts each duke with the duchies of Courland and Semigallia as fiefs of Poland; and receives his homage as from a vaſſal to his liege lord. If Poland is engaged in war, the duke muſt furniſh 200 horſe, or 500 infantry; and the nobles are bound to ſupply 200 horſe, or 30,000 dollars in the firſt year of the war, provided no Poliſh or enemy's troops are quartered in Courland, and 10,000 dollars in each of the ſucceeding years. The money bears on one ſide, the head of the king, or the arms of Poland and Lithuania; and is ſtruck on the ſame ſtandard as the coin of Poland. The Poliſh money paſſes current in Courland, and the Courlandiſh in Poland.

The king ſettles diſputes between the duke and his ſubjects, receives remonſtrances againſt any infringement of privileges from the diet, and can order the redreſs of grievances.

The diet of Poland ratifies all laws which alter or new-model the conſtitution, confirms the

creation of nobles, and the *indigenat recht*, or right of naturalization, recommended by the duke and diet of Courland. It is alſo the ſupreme court of judicature, to which any noble may appeal from the deciſion of the courts of juſtice in Courland. In all civil cauſes above the value of 500 Poliſh florins, and in all criminal caſes ſpecified in the ſtatutes, the final deciſion is left to the king and republic. The king in return binds himſelf to ſupport the conſtitution, the duke in all his prerogatives, and the nobles and burghers in all their privileges.

The duke and diet enjoy the ſupreme authority in all other circumſtances, not contradictory to their feodal dependance, or which are not mentioned in the acts of ſubjection.

The duke is inveſted with the executive power, and the general adminiſtration of affairs. He has a negative in all the proceedings of the diet, confers the principal charges, both civil and military, enjoys the right of pardoning criminals, judges in particular caſes without appeal, in all civil cauſes below 500 Poliſh florins, and in delinquencies and crimes not ſpecified in the ſtatute law.

The duke, ſtrictly ſpeaking, has the right to declare war, make peace, or contract alliances; but although ſome inſtances of his exerciſing theſe prerogatives have occurred, yet he uſually

conſults

conſults the diet on theſe occaſions. His revenues are ample, and derived from the ducal demeſnes, which are ſuppoſed to form one-third of the duchy, from tolls and cuſtoms, manorial and feudal rights, fines, and confiſcations of goods, amounting to not leſs than £. 160,000 per annum, which almoſt entirely belongs to his privy purſe, as the expences of his court are trifling, and he is not permitted to maintain more than 500 troops. The prerogatives of the duke are circumſcribed by his vaſſalage to Poland, by the diet of Courland, and the privileges of the nobles.

Diets are ordinary or extraordinary; both convoked by the duke, either at his own pleaſure, or at the requeſt of the nobles. Extraordinary diets are ſummoned as occaſion requires. Ordinary diets are convoked every two years, ſix weeks before the meeting of the Poliſh diet. With the circular letters expedited to the pariſhes for the election of the deputies, the duke ſends the propoſitions called Deliberations, which are to be laid before the diet, and muſt, at the ſame time, tranſmit any grievances complained of by the body of nobles, for the conſideration of that aſſembly.

The deputies muſt be noble, and are elected by the nobles in their reſpective pariſhes. Their number is uncertain, becauſe ſometimes one pariſh

chuſes

chuſes one or two deputies, and not unuſually three pariſhes join in appointing only one, but may be eſtimated at twenty-ſeven, the number of pariſhes.

The diet aſſembles generally at Mittau, and chuſes, by a majority of votes, a marſhal or preſident. The deputies then, headed by the marſhal, repair to the palace, are received by the duke in ſtate, kiſs his hand, and are entertained at dinner.

The diet, conjointly with the duke, impoſes taxes, and paſſes all laws and regulations which do not infringe on the feodal rights of Poland, or alter the conſtitution.

The diet firſt ſubmits all grievances to the duke; and if he conſiders them nugatory, and refuſes to redreſs them, the deputies enjoy the privilege of laying their remonſtrances before the diet of Poland, as the ſupreme court of legiſlature.

All queſtions are carried or rejected by the majority, and each deputy muſt vote according to the inſtructions of his conſtituents; but in all inſtances wherein the conſtituents have not fully inſtructed the deputy, his vote is null, and the ſentiments of the majority prevail.

From this abſurd method of giving previous inſtructions, and the attempts of the deputies to elude them, many inſtances occur in the hiſtory

of

of Courland, in which the minority have prevailed over the majority: this cuſtom has alſo given riſe to ſeveral attempts ſucceſsfully made for a ſingle deputy to aſſume the right of the *liberum veto* * as in Poland, though under another name, and to diſſolve the diet from his ſole oppoſition.

At the diſſolution of the diet, the deputies are bound to acquaint their conſtituents in perſon with the tranſactions; a circumſtance which gives riſe to factions, and has not unfrequently occaſioned civil commotions.

Many of the privileges enjoyed by the nobles are enormous, and inconſiſtent with every principle of ſound policy. A noble cannot be arreſted, by order of the duke, for the moſt flagrant act, except within twenty-four hours after the commiſſion of the crime; if he eſcapes during that time, he cannot be arreſted without an order from the king and republic of Poland; he cannot be impriſoned till found guilty, or executed, but by permiſſion of the king and republic.

The higheſt and moſt important officers of ſtate muſt be drawn from their body. Nobles are exempted from the payment of all taxes and impoſts; being only bound, according to the feodal tenure, to furniſh in time of war their quota of cavalry. Their power over their peaſants is, if poſſible, more unbounded than that of the Po-

* See Book I. ch. 5.

liſh

liſh gentry. In judging delinquencies and crimes, a noble can form a ſummary court of juſtice, compoſed of himſelf, three or four friends, and an attorney, and, after a mock-trial, may order corporal puniſhment, or may inflict immediate execution.

The duke is aſſiſted in the adminiſtration of affairs by a privy council, called the Supreme Council, compoſed of four high counſellors, and two civilians or doctors, all appointed by the duke, but holding their places for life, unleſs proved guilty of malverſation, and removed by the king of Poland. The four high counſellors are, the high ſteward, the chancellor, the burgrave, and the marſhal. The province of this council is to adviſe the duke in all concerns of ſtate, to preſerve the rights and privileges of the ſubject, and to remonſtrate againſt grievances.

The four high counſellors form alſo, in conjunction with the duke, the criminal court of judicature for the nobles, to which an appeal lies from the inferior courts of juſtice; and which judges all crimes, excepting premeditated murder, wilful burning of houſes, robbery, rapes, or open violence, which, being capital, are referred to the king of Poland. The ſame four high counſellors are inveſted with the regency, during the minority, abſence, or ſickneſs of the duke, or on a vacancy of the ducal throne. In theſe caſes,

the

the two civilians, who are conſidered as the duke's counſellors, are excluded, to the great detriment of the country, as they are uſually the moſt enlightened counſellors, and not being nobles, are more inclined to encourage manufactures and commerce, and are particularly attentive, that the privileges of the lower orders ſhould be preſerved.

The enormous privileges of the nobles have been the occaſion of exciting the civil commotions which have overwhelmed Courland for this laſt century. Its internal hiſtory is a continued ſeries of diſputes between the duke and the nobles; the boaſted freedom of the country is a ſpirit of faction under the name of liberty, which, as in Poland, means an ariſtocratical licentiouſneſs, oppreſſing others, but free itſelf to commit all kinds of enormities.

In all countries, where the ſpirit of feodal deſpotiſm (the worſt ſpecies of tyranny) prevails, the peaſants are oppreſſed, and agriculture is in a declining ſtate; the merchants are deſpiſed, and commerce languiſhes; men of learning are neglected, and letters uncultivated; the nobles and gentry alone enjoy the right of being landholders, and center in themſelves the whole power of government. Daily, however, this odious ſlavery loſes ground; the age becomes more enlightened; the citizen, the merchant, the manufacturer,

nufacturer, and the peaſant, gain eſteem and conſequence; and the time perhaps is not diſtant, when they will be permitted to enjoy the common rights of mankind.

Should the duke die without iſſue, the right of appointing a ſucceſſor is veſted in the diet of Courland, with the approbation of the king and republic of Poland. But as Courland is too ſmall a ſtate to act independently of the great neighbouring kingdoms, the nomination of the new duke muſt depend on the will of that power which has moſt preponderance in the north, and conſequently moſt influence in Poland.

When Poland was the great preponderating power, Courland was ſubſervient to that republic; when Sweden, under Guſtavus Adolphus, and his immediate ſucceſſors, roſe ſuperior to Poland, it was over-run by the Swedes, and its ſovereign led into captivity *. When the fortune of the houſe of Vaſa declined, and Ruſſia gained the aſcendancy, Courland became almoſt a province of Ruſſia; the dukes were elected and depoſed, by the influence of the court of Peterſburgh, and its dependence on Poland was a mere for-

* James duke of Courland, taken priſoner in 1458, by Charles X. king of Sweden.

 mality.

mality. But as Ruſſia has lately loſt her influence in Poland, the duke of Courland has emancipated himſelf from his abſolute dependence on the court of Peterſburgh. Whether this emancipation is temporary or permanent muſt depend on the fate of the preſent war, and the iſſue of the pending negotiations *.

* Courland is now a province of the Ruſſian empire. Soon after the conqueſt and final diviſion of Poland, Peter, duke of Courland, repaired to Peterſburgh: he had an audience of Catharine the Second, on the 12th of March 1795, and was received with the higheſt honours. About the ſame time, the diet of Courland aſſembled, and after ſome trifling oppoſition, but much violent altercation, declared the two duchies of Courland and Semigallia ſeparated from their feudal dependance on Poland, and ſubmitted themſelves to the dominion of Ruſſia. (March 18, 1795).

On the 28th, the duke iſſued an act of renunciation, and Courland was erected into a government, divided into nine circles, under a Ruſſian governor, reſident at Mittau. The ſalaries were continued to the officers of ſtate, and perſons holding places under the former government; and the duke himſelf was amply gratified for the reſignation of his dignity. He had been long at variance with his ſubjects, and ſcarcely ever reſided at Mittau; he had alſo foreſeen the loſs of his dominions, and had ſecured large ſums of money, with which he purchaſed the duchy of Sagau, and the counties of Wartenberg, Belin, and Goſchutz, in Sileſia, and eſtates in Brandenburgh. He ſtill retains the title of duke of Courland and Semigallia. Peter was born in 1724, and has by his wife, Anne Charlotte Dorothea, daughter of John Frederic count of Medem, ſeveral daughters. His brother prince Charles was born in 1728, and has by the princeſs Appollonia Poninſka ſeveral ſons.

The

The prevailing religion is the Lutheran, but all other perſuaſions are tolerated; and the Roman catholics are capable of holding all military and civil offices, that of chancellor and a few others excepted.

The language is a dialect of the Livonian or Lettiſh, the ſame which is ſpoken, with a little variation, by the Livonians and Eſthonians, and is probably derived from the Finniſh. The nobles and gentry, being deſcended from German ſettlers, ſpeak German, and that tongue is always uſed in the debates of the diet.

From Mittau we traverſed the duchy of Courland, a country ſwelling into gentle hills, and fertile in corn, hemp, and flax. The inhabitants export thoſe commodities from the port of Libau on the Baltic, the only commercial town of Courland, and import in return, coffee, tea, wines, cloth, ſalt, and other foreign merchandize, which ſupply the interior conſumption. The country is moſtly open; but in ſome parts clothed with foreſts of pine and fir, dotted with occaſional groves of fine oak, and ſprinkled with much under-wood. The villages are neat, the ſcattered cottages and gentlemen's ſeats prettily ſituated amid clumps of trees, and the inns provided with beds, a great luxury to travellers juſt

come from Ruſſia. The roads are extremely indifferent, and in this ſeaſon of the year ſcarcely paſſable.

CHAP. II.

Of Catharine I.—Her origin and early adventures.—Married to a Swediſh dragoon.—Captured by the Ruſſians.—Becomes the miſtreſs, conſort, and ſucceſſor of Peter the Great.—Hiſtory of her elevation to the throne.—Death and character.

MANY authors have expreſſed great ſurprize at the contradictory reports relative to the origin of Catharine I. But to expect that the hiſtory of a perſon of low extraction, who gradually roſe to the moſt exalted ſtation, ſhould contain no uncertain and diſcordant accounts, is to expect impoſſibilities. All that remains, therefore, is, without prejudice or partiality, to compare the various hiſtories of Catharine I. and to collect from the whole the moſt probable narrative.

Catharine was the natural daughter * of a country

* I ſhall make a few remarks concerning the authors from whom I have principally extracted this account of Catharine I. The firſt and moſt authentic is Weber.

Weber was the Hanoverian reſident at Peterſburgh during part of the reign of Peter I. and took extraordinary pains to obtain the beſt information relative to the origin of Catharine. He learned the Ruſſian language of Wurmb, who was tutor to Gluck's children when Catharine was in that miniſter's houſe at Marienburgh: from him, therefore, he was able to obtain the moſt authentic in-

country girl, and was born at Ringen, a ſmall village

telligence. Weber may have been miſtaken in a few trifling incidents, but his narrative upon the whole is to be depended upon. See Verandertes Ruſsland, vol. III. p. 7—10.

La Motraye, in his Travels, has given a ſhort account of her family, &c. Among other intelligence, he collected much information from a Livonian girl, who had been ſold by the Ruſſians to the Turks, and whom he bought of the Janizaries: this girl knew Catharine at Marienburgh, and told him ſeveral particulars relating to her, which were afterwards confirmed to him in Livonia. The account of La Motraye correſponds with that of Weber in the principal events, differing only in a few trifling points.

Bruce has alſo given an account of her origin, which he relates as he heard it told by thoſe who knew her from her infancy. His narrative correſponds, upon the whole, with that of Weber in all eſſential circumſtances.

Theſe three perſons are the principal authors who were in Ruſſia towards the beginning of this century, and collected information on the ſpot: we may therefore rely on them with more ſafety than upon later writers; and they all agree in confirming the lowneſs of her birth, and her marriage with the Swediſh dragoon.

Voltaire, in his life of Peter I. has ſlightly paſſed over the early adventures of Catharine: he mentions nothing of her birth, her marriage with the Swediſh ſoldier; as circumſtances derogatory from the honour of the mother of the empreſs Elizabeth, by whoſe deſire he wrote the life of Peter the Great. But, willing to ennoble the family of Catharine I. he records a ſtange ſtory, which has all the air of a romance, concerning a brother of Catharine, named Scavronſki, who was found to be the ſon of a gentleman of Lithuania. Voltaire cites for his authority "le manuſcrit curieux d'un homme qui était alors au ſervice du czar, & qui parle comme temoin;" but without mentioning his name.

From Voltaire many ſucceeding authors have advanced that Catharine was of the family of Scavronſki; and it is certain that the empreſs Elizabeth acknowledged that family as her relations, and conferred honours upon its members.

The

village upon the Lake Virtcherve, near Dorpt, in

This anecdote concerning Scavronſki is poſitively contradicted by a paſſage in Baſſevitz, who aſſiſted Mentchikof in raiſing Catharine to the throne, and who muſt have known if any brother of Catharine had been at Peterſburgh during the life of Peter. He aſſerts, that Catharine did not produce any of her relations during Peter's life: that after his death a perſon made his appearance at Peterſburgh as her brother, under the name of court Hendrikof; that he lived in obſcurity during the reigns of Peter II. and Anne, and that Elizabeth made his ſon a chamberlain. Buſching, IX. p. 295.

Weber alſo upon this head relates, "that a near relation of Catharine came to Peterſburgh with his family, conſiſting of three ſons and two daughters. He was called count Ikavoronſki [certainly the ſame as Scavronſki]; the eldeſt daughter, Sophia, was appointed by the empreſs maid of honour; the other children were educated by their father. The arrival of *theſe ſtrangers* gave riſe to many reports concerning the origin of Catharine; that her father, whoſe name was ſaid to be John Rabe, was a quarter-maſter in a Swediſh regiment; and that her mother was the daughter of a town-ſecretary of Riga. The widow, after her huſband's death, went to her relations at Riga; but ſoon dying, Gluck took the foundling into his family. Theſe reports, which began to circulate, occaſioned a public decree, forbidding all perſons, upon pain of death, from uttering diſreſpectful expreſſions againſt the late emperor, or the reigning empreſs and her family." Ver. Ruſſ. vol. III. p. 76.

We may indeed take it for granted, that if Catharine's family had been nobly deſcended, the ſecret would have been diſcovered during the life of Peter, and have been favourably received by that emperor, who was prevented by the *obſcurity of her birth* from carrying her with him to Paris, not being willing to expoſe her to inſult: "Il ne voûloit pas l'expoſer, dit-on, aux rebuts qu'il craignait pour elle, *vû l'obſcurité de ſa naiſſance*, de la délicateſſe Françaiſe." Baſſevitz in Buſ. Mag. IX. p. 316.

in Livonia. The year of her birth is uncertain; but,

An Auſtrian envoy, who was at Peterſburgh in 1725, and wrote an account to his court of her acceſſion to the throne, ſays, "that ſhe was a natural daughter of a Livonian nobleman, whoſe name was Alvendhel; that her mother afterwards married a rich peaſant, by whom ſhe had a ſon and a daughter; that the former was put to death by Peter, for openly declaring himſelf to be the brother of Catharine; and that the ſiſter received for ſome time a penſion of 300 roubles from the empreſs, but was afterwards confined in a houſe of correction during the reign of Peter I. by Catharine's deſire." He adds, "Catharine was brought up in Gluck's houſe; ſhe became the miſtreſs of Tieſenhouſen, a captain of Swediſh horſe, by whom ſhe had a ſon; he afterwards gave her in marriage to a dragoon of his troop, with whom ſhe lived three years, until ſhe was taken priſoner at Narva by the Ruſſians." But this miniſter, who is well informed in what relates to the latter part of Catharine's life, and the means by which ſhe aſcended the throne, ſeems to have detailed many idle reports about her family and early hiſtory. Buſch. Hiſt. Mag. XI. p. 48.

Before I cloſe this note I muſt mention the opinion of Buſching, who, during his reſidence at Peterſburgh, collected much authentic information in reſpect to the various parts of the Ruſſian hiſtory: amongſt other articles, he has given anecdotes of Catharine I. which he opens by ſaying, "All the accounts which writers have hitherto given, or rather conjectured, of the birth and family of Catharine I. are falſe." Ibid. III. p. 190. He ſays her family was from Lithuania, and her father's name Samuel; her brother was count Charles Scavronſki; her ſiſter Chriſtina married count Simon Hendrikof, and the other, whoſe name was Anne, Michael Yeſimoſki. He confirms her marriage with the Swediſh dragoon, but places the ſcene at Frauſtadt in Poland, and not at Marienburgh. He informs us, that he obtained this *information* from an old lady whoſe name he conceals, who died lately at Peterſburgh, and knew Catharine from her firſt appearance in Ruſſia, and was greatly in her favour. He adds alſo an account of an officer who brought Catharine's

but, according to her own account*, ſhe came into the world on the 5th of April, 1689. Her original name was Martha, which ſhe changed for Catharine when ſhe embraced the Greek religion. Count Roſen, a lieutenant-colonel in the Swediſh ſervice, who owned the village of Ringen, ſupported, according to the cuſtom of the country, both the mother and child, and was, for that reaſon, ſuppoſed to be her father. She loſt her mother when ſhe was three years old, and, count Roſen dying about the ſame time, was left in ſo deſtitute a ſituation, that the clerk of the village received her into his houſe.

rine's ſiſter Anne from Lithuania to Peterſburgh. With great deference, however, to ſo reſpectable an authority, we cannot, merely upon this hearſay evidence, ſet aſide the teſtimonies of Weber, La Motraye, and Bruce: this ſtory ſeems, in effect, the ſame flying report as that in Voltaire; and the lady who gave the intelligence to Buſching might be willing to ratify the current report in Elizabeth's time, in honour of her friend and patroneſs Catharine. It appears, however, as well from this intelligence as from the information of Weber and Baſſevitz, that ſome real or pretended relations of Catharine made their appearance at Peterſburgh during her reign; that they were acknowledged and promoted by her, and afterwards by Elizabeth, not unwilling, perhaps, to believe, without inquiry, her mother's family to be nobly deſcended.

Schmidt, in his Materialien, &c. has collected in one point of view great part of the intelligence which relates to Catharine and to him I am greatly obliged for abridging the trouble neceſſary in ſuch a complicated inquiry.

* Baſſevitz in Buſching, IX. p. 375. Some ſay ſhe was born ſo early as 1683. Buſching, IX. p. 481.

Soon

Soon afterwards Gluck, Lutheran minister of Marienburgh, took her under his protection, brought her up in his family, and employed her in attending his children. In 1701 * she espoused a dragoon of the Swedish garrison of Marienburgh †. Many different accounts are given of this transaction: one author ‡ of great credit affirms that the bride and bridegroom remained together eight days after their marriage; another §, of no less authority, asserts, that on the morning of the nuptials her husband was sent with a detachment for Riga, and the marriage was never consummated. This much is certain, that the dragoon was absent when Marienburgh surrendered to the Russians, and Catharine, reserved for a higher fortune, never saw him more.

General Bauer, on the capture of Marienburgh, saw Catharine among the prisoners; and, smitten with her beauty, took her to his house, where she superintended his domestic affairs, and was supposed to be his mistress. Soon afterwards she was removed into the family of prince Ment-

* Weber says in her 18th year; but if, according to her own account, she was born in 1689, she was only thirteen.

† Wurmb assured Weber, that during her residence at Marienburgh she was a pattern of virtue and good behaviour; which contradicts the report, that she had been a common woman in Livonia.

‡ Weber. § Bruce, p. 74.

chikof,

chikof, who was no leſs ſtruck with the attractions of the fair captive: with him ſhe lived until 1704, when, in the ſeventeenth year of her age, ſhe became the miſtreſs of Peter the Great, and won ſo much upon his affections, that he eſpouſed * her on the 29th of May, 1711. The ceremony was ſecretly performed at Jawerof in Poland, in the preſence of general Bruce, and on the 20th of February, 1712, was publicly ſolemnized at Peterſburgh.

Catharine, by the moſt unwearied aſſiduity and unremitted attention, by the ſoftneſs and complacency of her diſpoſition, but above all by an extraordinary livelineſs of temper, acquired a wonderful aſcendency over the mind of Peter. The emperor was ſubject to occaſional horrors, which rendered him gloomy and ſuſpicious, and produced a temporary madneſs. In theſe dreadful moments Catharine was the only perſon who

* Gordon ſays ſhe had ſeveral children by the czar before he eſpouſed her, particularly the princeſs Anne. The czar, he adds, was married to her in 1710. Life of Peter, Vol. II. p. 258. Weber only relates, that the marriage, which was before kept ſecret, was made public in 1711. Voltaire places the ſecret marriage in 1707. A paſſage in Bruce's Memoirs is deciſive: "On the 17th (May, 1711) we arrived at Warſaw, and at Jawerof on the 29th, where we found the czar and czarina, and they were privately married, *at which ceremony the general was preſent*; and upon this occaſion he was made maſter-general of the ordnance, in the room of the prince of Melita, who died a priſoner in Sweden." P. 36.

ventured

ventured to approach him: ſuch was the kind of faſcination * ſhe had acquired over his ſenſes, that her preſence had an inſtantaneous effect; the firſt ſound of her voice compoſed his mind and calmed his agonies. From theſe circumſtances ſhe ſeemed neceſſary, not only to his comfort, but even to his exiſtence; ſhe became his inſeparable companion during his journies into foreign countries, and accompanied him even in his military expeditions.

The peace of Pruth, by which the Ruſſian army was reſcued from certain deſtruction, has been wholly attributed to Catharine, though ſhe was only the inſtrument in extorting the conſent of Peter. In the campaign of 1711 againſt the Turks, having imprudently led his troops into a diſadvantageous ſituation, he formed the deſperate reſolution of cutting his way through the Turkiſh army in the night, and retiring to his tent in an agony of deſpair, gave poſitive orders that no one ſhould be admitted, under pain of death. In this important juncture, the principal officers, and the vice-chancellor Shafſirof †, aſſembled in the preſence of Catharine, and drew up certain preliminaries to obtain a

* "Elle avait un aſcendant ſur ſes ſens, qui tenait preſque du prodige." Baſſevitz in Buſch. IX. p. 294.

† Motraye's Travels, vol. III. p. 151, note, alſo p. 103.

truce

truce from the grand vizier. Plenipotentiaries were immediately diſpatched, without the knowledge of Peter, to the grand vizier, and a peace obtained on more reaſonable conditions than could have been expected. With theſe conditions Catharine, notwithſtanding the orders iſſued by Peter, entered the tent, and obtained his ſignature. By her conduct Catharine acquired great popularity, and the emperor ſpecifies her behaviour at Pruth, as one of the reaſons which induced him to crown her publicly at Moſcow with his own hand. This ceremony * was performed in 1724; and, though deſigned by Peter only as a proof of his affection, was the cauſe of her ſubſequent elevation.

Some authors have affirmed, without the ſmalleſt foundation, that Peter placed the crown upon her head as a prelude to his future intention in her favour, and even appointed her his ſucceſſor; but no traces of this intention were ever diſcovered. Nothing indeed affords a ſtronger proof of the contrary, than the manifeſto of Catharine's acceſſion, in which ſhe reſts her right ſolely on her coronation at Moſcow, and on the reſolutions of the ſenate, the clergy, and the body of the generals †. Her influence continued

* The reader will find a circumſtantial account of the coronation, with all the ceremonies and entertainments, in Bruce, who was himſelf preſent. Bruce's Memoirs, p. 351 to 363.

† See Dumont, Corps Diplom vol. VIII. p. 2. p 104.

undiminiſhed

undiminiſhed until a ſhort time before the death of Peter; when ſome circumſtances occaſioned a miſunderſtanding, which might have ended in a total rupture, if his death had not intervened. The original cauſe of this miſunderſtanding aroſe from the diſcovery of a ſecret connection between Catharine and Mons, her firſt chamberlain. The emperor, ſuſpicious of the connection, quitted Peterſburgh under pretence of removing to a villa for a few days; but privately returned to his winter palace in the capital. From whence he occaſionally ſent a confidential page with a complimentary meſſage to the empreſs, as if he was in the country, with ſecret orders to obſerve her motions. From his information, the emperor, on the third night, ſurpriſed Catharine in an arbour of the garden with her favourite Mons; while his ſiſter, Madame Balke, who was firſt lady of the bed-chamber, was in company with a page, upon the watch without the arbour.

Peter * ſtruck Catharine with his cane, as well

* Baſſevitz and Voltaire relate this tranſaction in a different manner, but neither of them would repreſent any circumſtance tending in the leaſt to criminate Catharine. The Auſtrian envoy, from whom the above relation is chiefly extracted, ſays that he received information of the whole affair from the page ſent by Peter, whoſe name was Drevenich. Buſch. Hiſt. Mag. XI. p. 49. Baſſevitz himſelf mentions the anecdote of his driving her under the gallows; which ſeems to imply, that Peter certainly thought Catharine guilty of an intrigue with Mons.

as the page who endeavoured to prevent him from entering the arbour, and then retired without uttering a ſingle word. Mons and his ſiſter were taken into cuſtody, and a report was circulated, that they were impriſoned for receiving bribes, and making their influence over the empreſs ſubſervient to their own mercenary views. Mons was carried to the winter palace, where no one had admiſſion to him but Peter, who himſelf brought his proviſions; being examined in the preſence of major-general Uſchakof, and threatened with the torture, he confeſſed the corruption laid to his charge, and was beheaded. His ſiſter received five ſtrokes of the knoot, and was baniſhed into Siberia; two of her ſons, who were chamberlains, were alſo degraded, and ſent as common ſoldiers among the Ruſſian troops in Perſia. On the day ſubſequent to the execution of the ſentence, Peter conveyed Catharine in an open carriage under the gallows, to which was nailed the head of Mons; the empreſs, without changing colour at this dreadful object, exclaimed, "What a pity it is, that there is ſo much corruption among courtiers *."

As this event was followed by Peter's death, and as Catharine recalled Madame Balke, ſhe was ſuſpected of ſhortening the days of her huſ-

* Baſſevitz in Buſch. Hiſt. Mag. IX. p. 372.

band

band by poiſon. But notwithſtanding the critical ſituation of Catharine at the time of his deceaſe, and her ſubſequent elevation, this charge is deſtitute of proof; for the nature of the diſorder with which Peter had been long afflicted, and the peculiar ſymptoms * of his laſt illneſs, ſufficiently account for his death, without recurring to poiſon.

Peter having, in 1724, decreed that the reigning ſovereign ſhould have the power of appointing his ſucceſſor, ought, in common prudence, to have provided one in caſe of his ſudden death;

* "Peter," ſays the Auſtrian envoy, "had formerly contracted from one of his miſtreſſes a complaint, which on account of his exceſſes was never completely eradicated; and drinking at the ridiculous election of the mock patriarch †, an enormous quantity of wine, beer, mead, and brandy, it increaſed to ſuch a degree as to become incurable; but as there appeared no external ſymptoms, the phyſicians conceived the diſorder to be the ſtone, and treated it accordingly. By theſe means the virus at length gradually gained ſuch a height as to form an abſceſs in the bladder, which, in his laſt illneſs, brought on a ſtrangury, that ſoon ended in his death. Upon his death-bed he grievouſly repented of his ſins, confeſſed that he had ſhed much innocent blood, expreſſed the greateſt concern for his behaviour to his unfortunate ſon; adding, however, that he hoped God would forgive his ſins, in conſideration of the good he had conferred on his country." Buſch. Hiſt. Mag. XI. p. 496. Gordon ſays, "he caught cold, which, with a violent ſtrangury and retention of urine, occaſioned by an impoſthume in his bladder, put an end to his life on the 28th of January, 1725."

† See an account of this in Bruce's Memoirs.

but

but he was ſeized with his laſt illneſs before he had performed that neceſſary duty. His diſorder was a ſtranguary, which was not at firſt attended with alarming ſymptoms; but ſuddenly increaſed to a violent degree, and occaſioned ſuch excruciating tortures, as totally deprived him of his ſenſes. In a lucid interval he demanded pen and paper, and endeavoured to write, but could only trace characters that were not legible. He then called for his daughter Anne; but before her arrival his ſpeech and underſtanding failed, and he remained in this ſtate ſix-and-thirty hours until he expired *.

It is evident from this account, drawn from unqueſtionable authorities, that he did not appoint his heir; and though ſome perſons concluded, that he purpoſed entailing the crown upon his grandſon Peter, yet he probably deſtined his eldeſt daughter Anne to be his ſucceſſor; but was prevented, by the ſuddenneſs of his death, from carrying his deſign into execution.

While Peter was yet lying in the agonies of death, ſeveral oppoſite parties were caballing to diſpoſe of the crown. At a conſiderable meeting of many among the principal nobility,

* Baſſevitz in Buſching IX. p. 373. alſo Weber Ver. Ruſſ. vol. II. p. 199.

it was ſecretly determined to arreſt Catharine, at the moment of his diſſolution, and place Peter Alexievitch upon the throne *. Baſſevitz, apprized of this reſolution, repaired in perſon to the empreſs, although it was already night. "My grief and conſternation," replied Catharine, "render me incapable of acting for myſelf; do you and prince Mentchikof conſult together, and I will embrace the meaſures which you ſhall approve in my name." Baſſevitz, finding Mentchikof aſleep, awakened and informed him of the preſſing danger which threatened the empreſs and her party. As no time remained for deliberation, the prince inſtantly ſeized the treaſure, ſecured the fortreſs, gained the officers of the guards by bribes and promiſes, alſo a few of the nobility, and the principal clergy. Theſe partizans being convened in the palace, Catharine made her appearance: ſhe claimed the throne in right of her coronation at Moſcow; expoſed the ill effects of a minority, and promiſed, that, "ſhe would receive the crown only as a ſacred depoſit, to be reſtored to the great-duke, when ſhe ſhould be united, in another world, to an adored huſband, whom ſhe was now upon the point of loſing."

* Tant qu'on lui ſavoit un ſouffle de vie, perſonne n'oſoit l'entreprendre. Telle étoit la force du reſpect et de la terreur, qu'imprima ce héros. Baſſevitz, p. 374.

The

The pathetic manner with which ſhe uttered this addreſs, and the tears which accompanied it, added to the previous diſtribution of large ſums of money and jewels, produced the deſired effect; and the remainder of the night was employed in making the neceſſary preparations to enſure her acceſſion.

The death of Peter, in the morning of the 28th of January, being divulged; the ſenate, the generals, the principal nobility and clergy, haſtened to the palace to proclaim the new ſovereign. The adherents of the great-duke ſeemed ſecure of ſucceſs, and the friends of Catharine were avoided as perſons doomed to deſtruction. At this juncture Baſſevitz whiſpered one of the oppoſite party, "The empreſs is miſtreſs of the treaſure and fortreſs; ſhe has gained over the guards and the ſynod, and many of the chief nobility; even here ſhe has more followers than you imagine; adviſe therefore your friends to make no oppoſition as they value their heads." This information being rapidly circulated, Baſſevitz gave the ſignal; and two regiments of guards, who had been gained by a largeſs * to declare for Catharine, and already ſurrounded the palace, beat to arms. "Who has dared,"

* The Auſtrian envoy ſays, that the guards received each £.6.

exclaimed prince Repnin, the commander in chief, "to draw out the troops without my knowledge!"—"I," returned general Butturlin, "without pretending to diſpute your authority, in obedience to the commands of my moſt gracious miſtreſs." This ſhort reply was followed by a dead ſilence.

In this moment of ſuſpenſe and anxiety, Mentchikof entered, preceding Catharine, ſupported by the duke of Holſtein. She attempted to ſpeak, but was prevented, by ſighs and tears, from giving utterance to her words: at length, recovering herſelf, "I come," ſhe ſaid, "notwithſtanding the grief which now overwhelms me, to aſſure you, that, ſubmiſſive to the will of my departed huſband, whoſe memory will be ever dear to me, I am ready to devote my days to the painful occupations of government, until providence ſhall ſummon me to follow him." Then, after a ſhort pauſe, ſhe artfully added, "If the great-duke will profit by my inſtructions; perhaps I ſhall have the conſolation, during my wretched widowhood, of forming for you an emperor worthy of the blood and name of him whom you have now irretrievably loſt." "As this criſis," replied Mentchikof, "is a moment of ſuch importance to the good of the empire, and requires the moſt mature deliberation,

tion, your majeſty will permit us to confer without reſtraint, that this whole affair may be tranſacted without reproach, not only in the opinion of the preſent age, but alſo of poſterity." —"Acting as I do," anſwered Catharine, "more for the public good than for my own advantage, I am not afraid to ſubmit all my concerns to the judgment of this enlightened aſſembly; you have not only my permiſſion to confer with freedom; but I lay my commands upon you all, to deliberate maturely on this important ſubject, and promiſe to adopt the reſult of your deciſions." At the concluſion of theſe words, the aſſembly retired into another apartment, and the doors were locked.

It was previouſly ſettled by Mentchikof and his party to declare Catharine empreſs, and the guards, who ſurrounded the palace with drums beating and colours flying, effectually vanquiſhed all oppoſition. The only circumſtance, therefore, which remained, was to give a juſt colour to her title, by perſuading the aſſembly that Peter intended to name her his ſucceſſor. For this purpoſe Mentchikof demanded of the emperor's ſecretary, whether his late maſter had left any written declaration of his intentions? The ſecretary replied, "A little before his laſt journey to Moſcow he deſtroyed a will, and he frequently expreſſed his deſign of making

another, but was prevented by the reflection, that if he thought his people, whom he had raiſed from a ſtate of barbariſm to a high degree of power and glory, could be ungrateful, he would not expoſe his final inclinations to the inſult of a refuſal; and if they recollected what they owed to his labours, they would regulate their conduct by his intentions, which he had diſcloſed with more ſolemnity than could be manifeſted by any writing." An altercation now began in the aſſembly, and ſome of the nobles having the courage to oppoſe the acceſſion of Catharine, Theophanes, archbiſhop of Pleſcof, called to their recollection the oath which they had all taken in 1722, to acknowledge the ſucceſſor appointed by Peter, and added, that the ſentiments of that emperor delivered by the ſecretary were in effect an appointment of Catharine. The oppoſite party, however, denied theſe ſentiments to be ſo clear as the ſecretary choſe to inſinuate, and inſiſted, that as their late monarch had failed to nominate his heir, the election of the new ſovereign ſhould revert to the ſtate. Upon this the archbiſhop further teſtified; that, the evening before the coronation of the empreſs at Moſcow, Peter had declared, in the houſe of an Engliſh merchant, he ſhould place the crown upon her head, with no other view than to leave her miſtreſs of the empire after his

deceaſe.

deceaſe. This atteſtation being confirmed by many perſons preſent, Mentchikof cried out, "What need have we of any teſtament! A refuſal to conform to the inclination of our great ſovereign, thus authenticated, would be both unjuſt and criminal. Long live the empreſs Catharine!" Theſe words being inſtantly repeated by the greater part of thoſe who were preſent; Mentchikof, ſaluting Catharine by the title of empreſs, paid his firſt obeiſance by kiſſing her hand, and his example was followed by the whole aſſembly. She next preſented herſelf at the window to the guards, and to the people, who ſhouted acclamations of "Long live Catharine," while Mentchikof ſcattered among them handfuls of money *. Thus, ſays a contemporary, the

* This account of the election of Catharine is chiefly extracted from Baſſevitz, who aſſiſted prince Mentchikof in this revolution, and certainly muſt deſerve credit as far as he choſe to diſcover the ſecret cabals. Other authors relate this event ſomewhat differently; but this difference is eaſily reconciled, and the main facts continue the ſame. Buſching aſſerts, as he was informed by count Munic, that Peter was no ſooner dead, than the ſenate and nobles aſſembled in the palace unknown to Mentchikof, who, being informed of their meeting, repaired to the palace, and was refuſed admittance; upon which he ſent for general Butterlin, with a company of guards, and, burſting open the door of the apartment, declared Catharine empreſs. Buſching, vol. I. p. 15; alſo Ebauche, &c. p. 50. The Auſtrian envoy ſays, that general Butterlin threatened to maſſacre the ſenate if the members did not acknowledge Catharine. But we have already ſeen, from the authority of Baſſevitz, that many of

the empreſs was raiſed to the throne by the guards, in the ſame manner as the Roman emperors by the prætorion cohorts, without either the appointment of the people or of the legions *.

The reign of Catharine may be conſidered as the reign of Mentchikof; the empreſs having neither inclination nor abilities to direct the helm of government; and ſhe placed the moſt implicit confidence in the original author of her good fortune, and the ſole inſtrument of her elevation to the throne.

During her ſhort reign her life was very irregular: ſhe was extremely averſe to buſineſs, would frequently paſs whole nights in the open air, and was particularly intemperate in the uſe of tokay-wine, in which ſhe often indulged herſelf to exceſs †. Theſe irregularities, joined to a cancer and a dropſy, haſtened her end, and ſhe

the nobles, &c. repaired to the palace in oppoſition to Mentchikof; that general Butterlin had high words with prince Repnin and the oppoſite party; that Mentchikof's preſence utterly diſconcerted them; and it is probable that both he and Butterlin might have threatened the nobles, which Baſſevitz might not chuſe to record, as he was willing to make the nomination of Catharine as unanimous as poſſible: although he ſays, "C'eſt ainſi que Catharine ſaiſit le ſceptre, qu'elle méritoit à ſi juſte titre." In a word, theſe three accounts are eaſily reconcileable; they all prove one fact, that Mentchikof, either by himſelf or his agents, by bribes, promiſes, and threats, forced the nobility to proclaim Catharine.

* Auſtrian envoy in Buſching XI. p. 502.

† Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. III. p. 192.

expired

expired on the 17th of May 1727, a little more than two years after her acceſſion to the throne, and in the 39th year of her age.

As the deaths of ſovereigns in deſpotic countries are ſeldom imputed to natural cauſes, that of Catharine was alſo attributed to poiſon; as if the diſorders which preyed upon her frame were not ſufficient to bring her to the grave. Some aſſert, that ſhe was poiſoned by a glaſs of ſpirituous liquor; others by a pear given to her by general Diever. Suſpicions alſo fell upon prince Mentchikof, who, a ſhort time before her deceaſe, had a trifling miſunderſtanding with her, and who was accuſed of haſtening her death, that he might reign with ſtill more abſolute power during the minority of Peter II. But theſe reports deſerve no credit, and were merely derived from the ſpirit of party, or from popular rumour.

Catharine was in her perſon under the middle ſize, and in her youth delicate and well-formed, but inclined to corpulency as ſhe advanced in years. She had a fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which ſhe was accuſtomed to dye black *. She could neither read nor write;

* Buſching ſays, "*Ihr ſchwarzes haar war nicht natuerlich, ſondern gefaerbt*," &c. Hiſt. Mag. vol. III. p. 190. "Her black hair was not natural, but coloured. On her firſt riſe the coarſeneſs of her

write *; her daughter Elizabeth uſually ſigned her name, particularly to her laſt will and teſtament, and count Oſterman generally put her ſignature to the public decrees and diſpatches. Her abilities were greatly exaggerated by her panegyriſts. Gordon, who had frequently ſeen her, ſeems to have repreſented her character with the greateſt juſtneſs, when he ſays, "She was a very pretty well-lookt woman, of good ſenſe, but not of that ſublimity of wit, or rather that quickneſs of imagination, which ſome people have believed. The great reaſon why the tzar was ſo fond of her, was her exceeding good temper; ſhe never was ſeen peeviſh or out of humour; obliging and civil to all, and never forgetful of her former condition; withal, mighty grateful." Catharine maintained the pomp of majeſty united with an air of eaſe and grandeur; and Peter frequently expreſſed his admiration at the propriety with which ſhe ſupported her high ſtation, without forgetting that ſhe was not born to that dignity †.

She

her hands proved that ſhe had been uſed to hard labour, but they gradually grew whiter and whiter." Theſe circumſtances we may readily believe, becauſe the lady from whom Buſching received the information could eaſily know whether Catharine's hair was black, or her hands coarſe, although ſhe might be deceived in what relates to her family.

* Baſſevitz, p. 295. Buching, xi. p. 481.

† "*Son épouſe était avec lui étalant, conformément à la volonté du monarque,*

She bore her elevation meekly, and was never, as Gordon aſſerts, forgetful of her former condition. When Wurmb*, who was tutor to Gluck's children at the time that Catharine was a domeſtic in the ſame family, preſented himſelf before her after the public ſolemnization of her marriage with Peter, ſhe ſaid, "What, thou good man, art thou ſtill alive! I will provide for thee;" and gave him a penſion. She was alſo no leſs attentive to the family of her benefactor Gluck, who died a priſoner at Moſcow: ſhe penſioned his widow, made his ſon a page, portioned the two eldeſt daughters, and appointed the youngeſt a maid of honour. If we may believe Weber, ſhe frequently inquired after her firſt huſband, and, when ſhe lived with prince Mentchikof, uſed ſecretly to ſend him ſmall ſums of money, until, in 1705, he was killed in a ſkirmiſh with the enemy. In a conference with general Schlippenback, who had commanded the Swediſh army, when ſhe was taken captive by the Ruſſians, ſhe aſked him "whether her ſpouſe John was not a brave ſoldier?" Schlippenback replying, "Am not I one alſo?" her

monarque, la pompe impériale, qui le genait, et la ſoutenant avec un air ſurprenant de grandeur et d'aiſance. Le czar ne pouvait ſe laſſer, d'admirer les talens qu'elle poſſedait, ſelon ſon expreſſion, de ſe créer imperatrice, ſans oublier qu'elle ne le nâquit point." Baſſevitz in Buſ. p. 358

* Life of Peter, vol. III. p. 258.

majeſty

majeſty anſwered in the affirmative; but, repeating the queſtion, he replied, "yes, pleaſe your majeſty; and I may boaſt to have had the honour of having him under my command*." But the moſt noble part of her character was her peculiar humanity and compaſſion. Motraye has paid a handſome tribute to this excellence. "She had in ſome ſort the government of all his (Peter's) paſſions; and even ſaved the lives of a great many more perſons than Le Fort was able to do: ſhe inſpired him with that humanity which, in the opinion of his ſubjects, nature ſeemed to have denied him. A word from her mouth, in favour of a wretch, juſt going to be ſacrificed to his anger, would diſarm him; but if he was fully reſolved to ſatisfy that paſſion, he would give orders for the execution when ſhe was abſent, for fear ſhe ſhould plead for the victim†." In a word, to uſe the expreſſion of the celebrated Munic, "*Elle étoit proprement la mediatrice entre le monarque et ſes ſujets*‡."

* Buſching had the above anecdote from a lady who was preſent at this conference. Hiſt. Mag. vol. III. p. 190.

† Motraye's Travels, vol. III. p. 131.

‡ Ebauche, &c. p. 54. "She was the mediatrix between the monarch and his ſubjects."

CHAP. 12.

Alexèy Petrovitch.—Principles on which Peter juſtified his excluſion from the throne.—Effects of his bad education.—Dread of his father.—Eſcape from Peterſburgh.—His trial and condemnation.—Inquiry into the cauſe of his death.—Account of his wife Charlotte Chriſtina Sophia of Brunſwick.—Circumſtances of her death.—Falſe rumours of her eſcape and adventures.

ALEXÈY, the ſole fruit of the inauſpicious marriage between Peter the Great and Eudocia Lapukin, was born in 1690; and never was the birth of any prince more unfortunate to himſelf, to his parents, and to his country.

The principles on which Peter attempted to juſtify the excluſion of his ſon from the throne, appear from a curious letter, written in 1715 by an Auſtrian army at Peterſburgh, to the prime miniſter at Vienna:

* "In my laſt I informed your excellency that I had an opportunity of penetrating the ſentiments of the tzar, and I ſhall now acquaint you with the particulars, which will ſurprize you. Being at dinner laſt Sunday at the vice-chancellor Shaffirof's, in company with the tzar, his majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me upon different topics. The diſcourſe turning upon the late king of France, his majeſty ſaid, "Certainly France was never governed by a greater man than Louis XIV. nevertheleſs, when I conſider the

* Buſch. Hiſt. Mag. III. p. 185, &c.

the little care which he took to perpetuate the glory of his kingdom after his demiſe, I have no longer the ſame eſteem for his memory, which I have hitherto held for his great and heroic actions. Louis XIV. at his advanced age, could not reaſonably indulge the hope of a much longer life; if, therefore, he diſcovered in the infant (Louis XV.) his ſucceſſor, any evident marks of a future incapacity to reign, why did he entruſt him to the care of a man who will not fail to adopt any means, however deſperate, that may tend to ſecure the throne to himſelf? Why did he not exclude the duke of Orleans from a ſhare in the regency? Or, if he knew the duke to be a man of a ſuperior genius, as he undoubtedly is; and his great grandſon, either on account of his tender age or ſome corporal infirmity, incapable of governing, why did he not declare a perſon of ſuch abilities as the duke of Orleans his ſucceſſor? By theſe means his grand ſyſtem would have ſtood unſhaken even by his death; whereas we have now every reaſon to conclude that France will decline." I made anſwer, "That as, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the firſt prince of the blood is regent during the king's minority, Louis XIV. could not exclude the duke of Orleans from the regency without breaking the law of ſucceſſion, which no king of France could venture to infringe." "Therefore," replied the tzar, "a prince, who, by ſacrificing his health, and even frequently expoſing his life, had at length rendered his country reſpectable and formidable, would, according to your hypotheſis, be conſtrained to ſuffer the fruits of his labours to be deſtroyed in the hands of a madman, provided he was his neareſt relation. I own I am not of your opinion. It is by no means ſufficient, that a monarch ſhould exert himſelf to aggrandize his ſtate, and render it flouriſhing during his life; but he ought alſo by wiſe precautions to perpetuate its glory after his demiſe, which can in no other manner be effected than by appointing an heir who ſhall be capable, not only to maintain his acquiſitions and preſerve his eſtabliſhments, but alſo to execute the reſt of his deſigns, were he even to ſelect him from the croud of his ſubjects." "You," added he, "would tax a prince with cruelty, who, in order to ſave his ſtate, which ought to be dearer to him than the blood in his veins, ſhould attempt to alter the ſucceſſion of his blood; and I, on the contrary, conceive it to be the greateſt of all

all cruelties, to ſacrifice the ſafety of the ſtate to the mere right of eſtabliſhed ſucceſſion. Let us ſuppoſe that the ſucceſſor has not the qualities requiſite for a ſovereign; a convent, and not a throne, is a proper aſylum for weak princes. David, for example, had many ſons; but as he found not in the eldeſt the qualities which a king of Iſrael ought to poſſeſs, he choſe the youngeſt for his ſucceſſor: God himſelf approved the choice, inſtead of blaming him for not paying regard to pretenſions of primogeniture, which was nevertheleſs highly reſpected by the Jews. If the gangrene (making me touch at the ſame time the end of his thumb) attacks my finger, am I not obliged, although it is part of my body, to cut it off? or ſhould I not be guilty of ſuicide?

"In ſhort, I now comprehend the cauſe of the law lately introduced by the tzar, which adjudges all real eſtates of a family to one of the male children; but leaves to the father the abſolute power of appointing his heir without conſidering the right of primogeniture. I am now conviced that the tzar has in his own mind decreed the excluſion of his eldeſt ſon; and that we ſhall one day ſee Alexèy, with his head ſhaven, thruſt into a monaſtery, and obliged to paſs the remainder of his life in praying and chanting hymns.

Nov. 15, 1715."

The prophecy of this writer was afterwards fulfilled, though, inſtead of being ſhut up in a convent, the wretched prince expired in priſon. The circumſtances which occaſioned his excluſion and death are well known; but as we have received them through the medium of his accuſers, we ought to be careful in giving credit to all the charges with which his memory has been ſtigmatized. One fact * is incontrovertible, that his education was ſhamefully neglected, and that he was a ſtranger to the reſtraints ne-

* See Memoire abregè ſur la vie du tzarevitch Alexei Petrovitch, in Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. p. 195.

ceſſary

ceſſary at his age, until the time of introducing proper habitudes had almoſt elapſed. He was committed to the care of women, and to the inſtruction of Ruſſian prieſts, the loweſt and moſt ignorant of men, who inſtilled into him all the prejudices of their religion, and were continually inveighing againſt his father for the abolition of many barbarous cuſtoms, which they had long conſidered with reverential awe. Nor was he releaſed from this wretched ſpecies of tuition before the eleventh year of his age; when Baron Huyſen, a man of great merit and ability, was appointed his governor. Under this judicious inſtructor he ſeems to have made no inconſiderable progreſs, and his early prejudices might have gradually worn away, had not prince Mentchikof contrived to remove the only perſon who was likely to inſtil into him proper principles of action, and aſſumed the ſuperintendence of his education. But as Mentchikof * ſcarcely ever ſaw him, and placed about him the moſt improper perſons, he ſeems to have intentionally abandoned him to the company of the loweſt wretches, by whom he was encouraged in continual ebriety, and every kind of exceſs; yet this deſigning miniſter artfully extorted from the tzarovitch, in priſon, a confeſſion that he

* Buſ. H. M. p. 196.

was

was the only perſon who had taken any care of his education *.

Peter conceived an early prejudice againſt his ſon, and inſpired him with ſuch terror, that, to avoid drawing before his father, the young prince once diſcharged a piſtol againſt his own right hand. All perſons, however, join in condemning the imprudence and obſtinacy of Alexèy, which warped his judgment, and, at times, tranſported him to a degree of inſanity. Bruce, who knew him well, gives the following account of his perſon and manners; and, as he was not prejudiced againſt him, his teſtimony muſt be eſteemed more valid than all the laboured accuſations of his enemies.

" The czarowitz arrived in Moſcow this winter (1714) where I ſaw him for the firſt time. He kept a mean Finlandiſh girl for his miſtreſs. I went often with the general to wait on him; and he came frequently to the general's houſe, attended by very mean

* L'Eveſque makes the following juſt reflections upon this unaccountable circumſtance. " *Croira-t-on qu'il ait fait ſincérement & de lui-même l'éloge des ſoins que Menchikof avait pris de ſon éducation; lorſqu'on ſait d'ailleurs que Menchikof approchait de lui tout au plus trois ou quatre fois par an, & ne lui parlait qu' avec le ton du mépris le plus dur & le plus outrageant? Si on le contraignit à louer le favori de Pierre, l'ami de Catharine, ne peut-on pas lui avoir dicté de même tout ce qu'on voulait lui faire dire?*" Hiſt. de Ruſſie, Tom. IV. p. 442.

This conjecture is greatly ſtrengthened by conſidering that the eulogium of Mentchikof was obtained from Alexèy in priſon by Tolſtoè, the creature of Mentchikof.

and low perſons. He was very ſlovenly in his dreſs; his perſon was tall, well made, of a brown complexion, black hair and eyes, of a ſtern countenance, and ſtrong voice. He frequently did me the honour to talk with me in German, being fully maſter of that language; he was adored by the populace, but little reſpected by the ſuperior ranks, for whom he never ſhewed the leaſt regard. He was always ſurrounded by a number of debauched ignorant prieſts, and other mean perſons of bad character, in whoſe company he always reflected on his father's conduct for aboliſhing the antient cuſtoms of the country, declaring, that as ſoon as he came to ſucceed, he ſhould ſoon reſtore Ruſſia to its former ſtate; and threatening to deſtroy, without reſerve, all his father's favourites. This he did ſo often, and with ſo little reſerve, that it could not miſs reaching the emperor's ears; and it was generally thought he now laid the foundation of that ruin he afterwards met with."

And again, "It was very remarkable, that the prince never appeared at any of the public meetings, when his majeſty was attended by all perſons of quality and rank, ſuch as birth-days, celebrating of victories, launching of ſhips, &c. General Bruce, who lived next door to the prince, had orders always to give the prince notice the day before of ſuch public days or meetings, and I had the honour to carry and deliver the meſſage; but his highneſs, to avoid appearing in public, either took phyſic or let blood, always making his excuſe, that he could not attend for want of health; when, at the ſame time, it was notoriouſly known that he got drunk in very bad company, when he uſed conſtantly to condemn all his father's actions *."

Inflamed by continual drunkenneſs, and worn out by perſecution, he was driven to a ſtate of deſperation; and in 1716, ſuddenly renouncing his right of ſucceſſion in favour of Peter's ſon by Catharine, he demanded permiſſion to retire into a

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 100 and 127.

convent.

convent. But ſoon afterwards adopting the advice of his principal adherents, he eſcaped to Vienna; with a view to ſhelter him from the reſentment of his father, Charles VI. ſent him firſt to Inſpruck in the Tyrol, and afterwards removed him, for ſtill greater ſecurity, to the caſtle of St. Elmo at Naples. Being ſecretly betrayed by his Finlandiſh miſtreſs, whom he is reported to have married, and influenced by the moſt ſolemn promiſes of forgiveneſs, he was prevailed upon, by the emiſſaries of his father, to return to Moſcow. Having there ſolemnly renounced all right of ſucceſſion to the crown, he was conveyed to Peterſburgh, thrown into the fortreſs, tried by a ſelect committee, and condemned to ſuffer death. The acts of his proceſs and condemnation are well known, being publiſhed by order of the emperor, and are to be found in ſeveral authors *.

Whatever prejudices we may have entertained againſt Alexèy, we cannot peruſe the trial without being ſhocked at the cruel and unjuſt mode with which it was conducted; when his mercileſs perſecutors eagerly laid hold of every advantage afforded by his youth and ſimplicity; when his Finlandiſh miſtreſs, who was afterwards penſioned for her atteſtations, depoſed every angry

* Mottley, vol. II. And more circumſtantially in Perry, vol. II.

expreſſion againſt his father, which ſhe ever recollected to have fallen from him in the moſt unguarded moments; when not only his words and actions were brought to witneſs againſt him, but his very thoughts ſcrutinized, and his own confeſſion extorted in priſon employed to convict him. Indeed many of his own depoſitions, which tended moſt to criminate him, by diſcovering intentions of rebellion, were not openly acknowledged, but only ſigned in priſon; and a ſignal difference is remarkable between his confeſſions during his firſt examination at Moſcow, which was more public, and thoſe made at Peterſburgh, when his trial was chiefly conducted in private before Peter and his immediate confidents: circumſtances which ſeem to prove the infliction of torture.

With reſpect to Alexèy's death, two opinions prevail; one advanced in the manifeſto of Peter, that he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, and died of convulſions occaſioned by the violent paſſions of his mind and the terrors of death; the other, that he was ſecretly executed in priſon. The latter is moſt entitled to belief, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of Peter, and the apology of his panegyriſts.

Of all the accounts of the prince's death, that given by Buſching * is the moſt probable; he

* Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. vol. III. p. 224. Alſo introduction to vol. IX.

poſitively

positively affirms, that he was beheaded by order of his father, and that marshal Weyde performed the office of executioner. He received the intelligence from Madame Cramer, a lady at Petersburgh, who was in high confidence both with Peter and Catharine, and was employed in sewing the prince's head to his body before it lay in state. During my stay at Petersburgh, I was at some pains to authenticate this fact; but found it extremely difficult to obtain any positive information concerning so secret a transaction. The most material circumstances I could collect were communicated by an intimate acquaintance of the above-mentioned lady: he assured me that he always found her extremely averse to hold any discourse on the death of Alexèy; that she seemed exceedingly shocked whenever the topic was introduced, and nothing could be further extorted from her, than that she was the person who prepared the body for the ceremony of lying in state. This unwillingness of the lady to enter upon the subject, together with her declaration that she prepared the body, adds a great degree of confirmation to the account of Busching.

An additional proof, in favour of this fact, I received from an English gentleman * of undoubted

* Mr. Rust, who travelled with Mr. Hoare, son of the late Henry Hoare, Esq. of Stourhead. He became intimately acquainted at

doubted veracity, who aſſured me, from the information of prince Cantemir's ſecretary, with whom he was intimately acquainted abroad, that Alexèy was beheaded in priſon. As prince Cantemir was in high favour with Peter, the intelligence of his confidential ſecretary muſt carry great weight. This fact appears ſo well atteſted, that many German hiſtorians have adopted it without reſerve, and, in ſeveral genealogical tables of the imperial family, Alexèy is inſerted as beheaded. A paſſage, however, in Bruce's Memoirs, ſeems at firſt ſight to invalidate this concurrent evidence, and to prove that he was poiſoned.

"The trial * was begun the 25th of June, and continued to the 6th of July, when this ſupreme court, with unanimous conſent, paſſed ſentence of death upon the prince, but left the manner of it to his majeſty's determination: the prince was brought before the court, his ſentence was read to him, and he was reconveyed to the fortreſs. On the next day, his majeſty, attended by all the ſenators and biſhops, with ſeveral others of high rank, went to the fort, and entered the apartments where the tzarovitch was kept priſoner. Some little time thereafter, marſhal Weyde came out, and ordered me to go to Mr. Bear's the druggiſt, whoſe ſhop was hard-by, and tell him to make the potion ſtrong which he had beſpoke, as the prince was then very ill: when I delivered this meſſage to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale, and fell a ſhaking and trembling, and appeared in the utmoſt confuſion; which ſurprized me ſo much,

Aix la Chapelle with Vogenrock, who had been ſecretary to prince Cantemir, was then eighty years of age, and had collected materials for the life of Peter I. but never reduced them to order.

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 185—187.

that

that I aſked him what was the matter with him, but he was unable to return me any anſwer: in the mean time the marſhal himſelf came in, much in the ſame condition with the druggiſt, ſaying, he ought to have been more expeditious, as the prince was very ill of an apoplectic fit; upon this the druggiſt delivered him a ſilver cup with a cover, which the marſhal himſelf carried into the prince's apartment, ſtaggering all the way as he went like one drunk. About half an hour after, the tzar, with all his attendants, withdrew, with very diſmal countenances; and when they went, the marſhal ordered me to attend at the prince's apartment, and, in caſe of any alteration, to inform him immediately thereof. There were at that time two phyſicians and two ſurgeons in waiting, with whom, and the officer on guard, I dined on what had been dreſſed for the prince's dinner. The phyſicians were called in immediately after to attend the prince, who was ſtruggling out of one convulſion into another, and, after great agonies, expired at five o'clock in the afternoon. I went directly to inform the marſhal, and he went that moment to acquaint his majeſty, who ordered the corpſe to be embowelled, after which it was laid in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and pall of rich gold tiſſue ſpread over it; it was then carried out of the fort to the church of the Holy Trinity, where the corpſe lay in ſtate till the 11th in the evening, when it was carried back to the fort, and depoſited in the royal burying vault, next the coffin of the princeſs his late conſort, on which occaſion the tzar and tzarina, and the chief of the nobility, followed in proceſſion. Various were the reports that were ſpread concerning his death; it was given out publicly, that on hearing his ſentence of death pronounced, the dread thereof threw him into an apoplectic fit, of which he died: *very few believed he died a natural death, but it was dangerous for people to ſpeak as they thought*. The miniſters of the emperor, and the ſtates of Holland, were forbid the court for ſpeaking their minds too freely on this occaſion, and, upon complaint againſt them, were both recalled."

From this account it appears that the prince was ſtill alive when Peter, with the nobles and biſhops, remained in the fortreſs; and that he

died in the interval between their departure and the afternoon; but it by no means follows, even from this ſtate of the caſe, that the tzarovitch was poiſoned. For, can we ſuppoſe that Peter would order a doſe of poiſon to be prepared for his ſon at a chemiſt's ſhop, and that marſhal Weyde would openly ſend for it without the leaſt myſtery? May we not rather infer that the potion was a medicine ſimilar to thoſe which had been already preſcribed for the prince, who had for ſome time been extremely indiſpoſed? The fright of the chemiſt might proceed from his delivering a medicine for the tzarovitch, who was ſaid to be in the agonies of death; as, in a deſpotic country, and under ſuch a ſovereign as Peter, his own ſafety might be involved in the cataſtrophe. The agitation of marſhal Weyde will be ſtill more ſatisfactorily accounted for; if, according to Buſching, he was preparing to perform, or had already performed, the execution.

The principal circumſtance which ſeems to contradict the opinion that he was beheaded, is, that if Bruce's narrative is to be depended upon, the prince, when he fell afterwards into repeated convulſions, was viſited by the phyſicians; and yet, if Buſching's account can be relied on, he muſt have been already beheaded; as marſhal Weyde, according to Bruce, had finally quitted the fortreſs. But it is poſſible that the phyſi-

cians,

cians, although ordered to attend the prince, might be prevented from ſeeing him; it is poſſible that marſhal Weyde might have ſecretly returned to the fortreſs without the knowledge of colonel Bruce; it is poſſible that Bruce himſelf, as being an intimate friend of the marſhal, might have been entruſted with the ſecret, but was unwilling to record, in his Memoirs, ſo horrid a cataſtrophe, which was totally repugnant to the manifeſto of the emperor. When the ſecret execution of the heir apparent in a deſpotic empire becomes the ſubject of inquiry, it muſt always be difficult to aſcertain the truth; and it would be unreaſonable to expect that no contradictory circumſtances ſhould occur in the different relations of ſuch a myſterious tranſaction; when, even in the moſt common occurrences, no two perſons would relate the ſame event preciſely in the ſame manner.

Catharine is not free from ſuſpicion of being concerned in this horrid affair, becauſe her ſon by Peter was declared ſucceſſor, and becauſe Tolſtoi, to whom the management of the proceſs and private examination of Alexèy were chiefly entruſted, was a creature of Mentchikof. This accuſation of Catharine could be only a mere ſurmiſe, and her interference, if ſhe really interfered, muſt have been ſo ſecret as not to have been diſcovered. Peter himſelf exculpated

exculpated her; openly teſtifying *, that ſhe interceded for his ſon's life, and requeſted, that, inſtead of being put to death, he might be confined in a convent. Not to mention that ſuch proceedings militate ſtrongly againſt the well known humanity of Catharine; there was no occaſion to irritate the ſavage temper of Peter, too much inclined to inflict the ſevereſt puniſhment upon his ſon, who threatened to deſtroy, in a moment, that vaſt fabric of glory and power which he had employed years in erecting. The monarch who could himſelf attend the infliction of torture, who had occaſionally performed the office of executioner, and who even ordered the firſt partner of his bed to be ſcourged, would not require any incitement to command the execution of a ſon, whom he had publicly treated with moſt inhuman ferocity.

A note, written with Peter's own hand to count Romanzof, who, in conjunction with Tolſtoi, brought the unfortunate Alexèy from Naples, will diſplay the inflexible ſpirit of that monarch, who forgot the feelings of a father in his anxiety for the public good. "I grant you the ranks of major-general and lieutenant-general, and the eſtates of Alexander Kikin and Kuril

* Baſſevitz.

Matuſhkin,

Matuſhkin *, in conſideration of the ſignal ſervice which you have juſt conferred, not only upon me, but, what is more, upon your country, in bringing back him, who by his birth is my ſon, and by his actions, the enemy of his father and of his country †."

The wife of Alexèy, Charlotte Chriſtina Sophia, was daughter of Louis Rhodolph of Brunſwick-Blankenburgh, and ſiſter of Elizabeth Chriſtina, conſort of the emperor Charles VI. She was born on the 29th of Auguſt 1694, eſpouſed, on the 25th of October 1711, the tzarovitch Alexèy, and in July of the enſuing year made her entrance into Peterſburgh ‡.

Although this amiable princeſs was the choice of Alexèy, who ſaw her at her father's court, yet he treated her with the utmoſt neglect, and devoted himſelf to his favourite miſtreſs Euphroſyne, a Finlandiſh girl of the loweſt extraction.

It does not, indeed, appear, that the prince, according to the report of ſome writers, frequently ſtruck her; for had he been ſufficiently

* Two of Alexèy's unfortunate adherents, who with many others were executed upon this occaſion.

† This note, which has not yet appeared in print, was communicated to me by a Ruſſian nobleman, the grandſon of count Romanzof, who favoured me with a tranſlation from the original.

‡ This account of the princeſs is chiefly taken from Muller's "Von der Princeſſin von Wolfenbuettel als vermahlten Ruſſiſchen Kronprinceſſin." In Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XV. p. 234.

brutal,

brutal, he would have been reſtrained by apprehenſions of his father; who, as well as Catharine, always expreſſed the ſtrongeſt compaſſion for her wretched ſituation, and ſhowed her conſtant proofs of his affection. Her huſband's unconquerable antipathy was chiefly derived from his ſuſpicions that ſhe lodged complaints againſt him to the emperor. Unfortunately her domeſtic uneaſineſs was increaſed by Juliana princeſs of Eaſt-Frieſland, who accompanied her into Ruſſia, and who imprudently fanned the flame inſtead of endeavouring to quench it.

The fruits of this ill-aſſorted union were Natalia, who was born at Peterſburgh in 1714, and died at Moſcow in 1728; and a prince, afterwards Peter II. who was brought into the world on the 23d of October 1715. The conſequences of her delivery, and the melancholy which had long preyed upon her frame, hurried her prematurely to the grave, on the 2d of November, in the 21ſt year of her age. The approach of death was affecting to all but her huſband and herſelf; her ſpirit was ſo much ſubdued by affliction, that ſhe conſidered her diſſolution as a welcome releaſe from all her ſufferings; and ſaid to her phyſicians, "Do not torment me any more, for I will live no longer *."

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 148.

On

On the day which preceded her deceaſe, ſhe dictated a petition to Peter the Great, which may be conſidered as her will: "The moſt humble and laſt entreaties from the under-written to his Imperial majeſty. 1. His Imperial majeſty will order my funeral as he ſhall think proper. I could wiſh, nevertheleſs, that my body may be buried in a place where it may remain undiſturbed until the ſecond coming of our Saviour. 2. Both my beloved children I recommend to the care and affection of his Imperial majeſty, my gracious father-in-law, that they may be educated according to their birth and ſtation. 3. I leave my jewels and other valuable things in gold and ſilver to my children; and a reaſonable part of my clothes and linen to my couſin the princeſs of Eaſt-Frieſland. 4. I beſeech his Imperial majeſty graciouſly to permit thoſe perſons who accompanied me hither to return, and to defray the expence of their journey. 5. On account of the dearneſs of this place, and becauſe my ſervants were ſtrangers, I have contracted ſome debts, which I intreat his Imperial majeſty to diſcharge, that I may be remembered with honour, and that no unworthy reports may be circulated after my death. The ſums which the crown will ſave by my deceaſe, may be employed in diſcharging theſe debts, ſince it is God's will

that

that I depart from this world ſo prematurely and unexpectedly. 6. My unforeſeen and untimely death is alſo the cauſe of my being unable to recompenſe my domeſtics, who had the care of regulating my expences; and as I am perfectly ſatisfied that my ſecretaries Cluver and John Clement, who had charge of my diſburſements, have ſerved me with fidelity and honour, I humbly entreat that their accounts, which have receipts, may be paſſed, and that the other expenditures may be admitted upon their oath. I repoſe ſuch confidence in his Imperial majeſty, that I truſt he will not reject this my laſt requeſt; more particularly when I reflect on the repeated inſtances which I have experienced of his paternal tenderneſs and affection. I have this alſo to add, that I am only concerned to leave this world at a time when his Imperial majeſty is indiſpoſed; a circumſtance which has prevented me from thanking him in perſon for the frequent proofs I have received of his kindneſs and regard. May the Almighty be his aid and protector; and may he add thoſe years to his life which are taken from mine; which I likewiſe faithfully, and with my whole heart, implore for her majeſty the empreſs; and, after returning my acknowledgments due to them for the repeated inſtances of their love and goodneſs, I expire,

pire, the moſt humble and moſt obedient daughter of both their majeſties,

"CHARLOTTE CHRISTINA SOPHIA *."

"St. Peterſburgh, Oct. 21, 1715."

Her ardent deſire to ſee the emperor before ſhe expired was gratified. Peter, who was at Schluſſelburgh at the time of her delivery, had ſet off upon the firſt news of that intelligence for Peterſburgh; but on his arrival in the capital, was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs, which confined him to his chamber. On peruſing the affectionate expreſſions of her attachment, he was placed on a machine rolling upon wheels, and conveyed to her apartment. The interview was awful: ſhe took leave of him in the moſt moving language and affecting manner, recommending her children to his care, and her ſervants to his protection, and received from him every conſolation which her ſituation would admit, together with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that all her wiſhes ſhould be fulfilled. She then embraced her children; and, having bedewed them with tears, delivered them into the hands of her huſband, whom decency obliged to be preſent at this tender ſcene. After ſuffering the moſt acute pains, and ſtruggling with ſucceeding agonies, ſhe expired at midnight †.

* Muller in Buſ. XV. p. 237. † Muller and Bruce.

She

She died a member of the Lutheran religion, which ſhe had in vain been ſolicited to renounce; and nothing conveys a ſtronger proof of the high eſteem in which ſhe was held by the emperor, than her interment in a Ruſſian church: her remains were depoſited, on the 8th of November, in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, with all the funeral honours due to her exalted ſtation.

I have been thus particular in relating the principal circumſtances which attended her death; not only becauſe her fate is intereſting to every feeling mind, but alſo becauſe an extraordinary account of this princeſs appeared in France. Soon after her delivery, it is ſaid, ſhe perſuaded her attendants to circulate a report of her death; and her huſband, who paid no attention to her during her illneſs, ordered her to be buried without delay; a piece of wood ſubſtituted in the place of the body, was interred in the cathedral, and the princeſs made her eſcape into France. Apprehenſive of diſcovery, ſhe embarked for Louiſiana, and married a French ſerjeant, who had formerly been at Peterſburgh, to whom ſhe bore a daughter. In 1752 ſhe came with her huſband to Paris, was diſcovered as ſhe was walking in the Thuilleries by marſhal Saxe, who promiſed ſecrecy, and procured a commiſſion for her huſband in the Iſle of Bourbon. Having

loſt

loſt her huſband and child, ſhe, in 1754, returned to Paris with a negro woman. The bills upon the Eaſt India Company, which ſhe brought in her huſband's name, being refuſed becauſe ſhe could not prove herſelf to be his wife; a gentleman, whom ſhe had known in the Iſle of Bourbon, offered his aſſiſtance, which ſhe declined. She confeſſed to this gentleman her real character; and from him the author of the account pretends to have received theſe anecdotes; adding, ſhe ſoon afterwards diſappeared, and retired to the court of her nephew the duke of Brunſwick. In this wonderful narrative, the king of France, it is ſaid, privately acknowledged her, and even enjoined the governor of the Iſle of Bourbon to pay her the honours due to her rank. It is added, that the ſame monarch, in a letter written with his own hand, communicated this diſcovery to the empreſs of Germany (then queen of Hungary), who thanked the king for his intelligence, and immediately wrote to the ſuppoſed princeſs, as to her aunt, adviſed her to quit her huſband and child, whom the king of France had promiſed to provide for, and invited her to Vienna.

Although I had little reaſon to give credit to an anonymous author; and the whole ſtory bears the air of fiction, I made it the ſubject of my reſearches. I found, on inquiry, that the circumſtances of her death could not be doubted, and accorded with the accounts which I have before related;

related; I was, moreover, informed by a Ruſſian nobleman, that his mother attended the princeſs in her illneſs; that ſhe was a witneſs to her laſt moments, and ſaw the corpſe laid in ſtate, when perſons of all ranks were admitted to kiſs the hand of the deceaſed *.

It

* In L'Eveſque's Hiſtory of Ruſſia, there is an ample detail of the riſe and progreſs of this anecdote of the princeſs's eſcape and adventures. It firſt made its appearance in Richer's Continuation of the Abbé Marcy's Hiſtoire Moderne, afterwards in Boſſu's Nouveaux Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale; and was lately revived in "Pieces intereſſantes et peu connues, pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire;" in which, as an additional authority, it is qualified as an extract found among the papers of the late Duclos, ſecretary of the Royal Academy, and Hiſtoriographer of France. The anecdote, like all other ſtories which are improved in their progreſs, is dreſſed in ſomewhat different ſhapes: in one the name of the huſband is d'Auban, in the other Moldack; in one ſhe marries a third time, and again becomes a widow: the circumſtances of her eſcape are alſo variouſly related, and in all with the moſt evident marks of falſehood, and abſolute contradiction to the moſt undoubted facts; ſuch as that ſhe was aſſiſted in her eſcape by the counteſs of Koningſmark, although there was no lady of that name about her perſon, or at Peterſburgh; that the body of the princeſs was interred almoſt at the inſtant of her deceaſe, and without any funeral honours; that Peter I. was not at Peterſburgh when ſhe died; that ſhe was brought to bed before her time of a princeſs, with many ſimilar aſſertions, which ſcarcely deſerve any ſerious refutation. The reader, who is deſirous of further information on the ſubject, is referred to L'Eveſque Hiſtoire de Ruſſie, Tom. IV. p. 384—389; and to the latter part of Muller's account, Von der Princeſſen von Wolfenbuttel, in Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XV. p. 239 to 241.—An extract alſo of the principal circumſtances of this ſtory is given in the Gentleman's Magazine, and from thence inſerted in the Annual Regiſter for 1776.

It is certain, from a paſſage in a letter from the king of Pruſſia to d'Alembert, that a woman appeared at Brunſwic, pretending to be the deceaſed wife of the tzarovitch: and it is no leſs certain that ſhe was an impoſtor.

" Je puis vous répondre avec plus de préciſion ſur le ſujet de cette dame qui prétendoit paſſer pour l'épouſe du czarowitz; ſon impoſture a été découverte à Brunſwic, où elle a paſſé peu de mois après la mort de celle dont elle emprunta le nom; elle y reçut quelques charités, avec ordre de quitter le païs, et de ne jamais prendre un nom dont ſa naiſſance l'écartoit ſi fort." Correſp. du Roi de Pruſſe à d'Alembert, ii. p. 138.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Various opinions concerning the Tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius.—Proofs that he was no impoſtor.

THESE are the principal circumſtances in the adventures of the perſon, who ſeated himſelf upon the Ruſſian throne under the name of Demetrius. His hiſtory is involved in contradiction and obſcurity: unbiaſſed, however, by the prejudices of either party, let us compare with candour their oppoſite repreſentations, and endeavour to aſcertain, whether he was an impoſtor, or the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch.

They who contend that he was an impoſtor, thus relate his hiſtory: He was of the family of Otrepief; his real name was George, which, upon his aſſuming the monaſtic habit in the fourteenth year of his age, he changed into Gregory, and was generally known by the appellation of Griſka * Otrepief: for ſome time he reſided at Suſdal, and having wandered from convent to convent, was conſecrated deacon in the monaſtery of Tchudof at Moſcow, where he was employed by the patriarch in tranſcribing books for the ſervice of the church. It is not aſcertained, even from theſe accounts of his life, at

* Griſka, in the Ruſſian tongue, ſignifies little Gregory. He was called alſo Roſtriga, or Deſerter, from having quitted his convent.

what period he firſt ſtyled himſelf Demetrius. Some report, that while he continued in the monaſtery of Tchudof, he obtained the moſt minute information relative to the perſon and character of the prince, and even began to aſſume his name, for which he was deemed inſane, and excited the laughter of the monks. Others obſerve, that he was in poſſeſſion of ſeveral jewels which formerly belonged to Demetrius; and, having one day declared that he ſhould aſcend the throne of Ruſſia, was confined, by order of Boris Godunof, in a diſtant monaſtery, from whence he eſcaped into Poland. On the contrary, Margaret, who aſſerts that he is the true Demetrius, gives the following detail:

Demetrius, being reſcued from aſſaſſination by the ſubſtitution * of another child, was ſecretly educated in Ruſſia

* The principal objection to the account of Margaret, ariſes from the difficulty of ſubſtituting a child in the place of Demetrius, particularly if the ſon of his nurſe was one of the aſſaſſins; and if Vaſſili Shuiſki examined the body of the deceaſed, ſoon after the ſuppoſed aſſaſſination. To this it may be anſwered, that his mother had ſufficient reaſon to be on her guard againſt the attempts of Boris Godunof; for it is evident that ſuch attempts were made before, from a paſſage in Fletcher, who was at Moſcow in the beginning of Feodor's reign. "Beſides the emperor that now is, who hath no child, nor ever like to have, there is but one more, a child of ſix or ſeven years old, in whom reſteth all the hope of the ſucceſſion, and the poſterity of that houſe. He is kept in a remote place from Moſko, under the tuition of his mother, and her kindred of the houſe of the Nagaies; *yet not ſafe* (as I have heard) *from attempts of making away by practice of ſome that aſpire to the ſucceſſion, if this emperor die without iſſue.*" Fletcher's Ruſſia, chap. V.

With reſpect to the privity of the nurſe, and her ſon, the witneſs of the bell-ringer, and the teſtimony of Vaſſili Shuiſki, L'Eveſque makes theſe judicious obſervations:

"Mais ces circonſtances ſont elles bien confirmées. Tous les aſſaſſins du tzarevitch furent maſſacrés preſqu'auſſi-tôt qu'ils eurent commis ce crime. Ils n'ont point été interrogés, on n'a rien ſu de leur bouche. Un ſonneur de la cathedrale fut temoin du meurtre de Dmitri. Mais qui a reçu ſon témoignage? Eſt il même certain

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Ruſſia until the election of Boris Godunof, when he was conveyed into Poland under the care of the monk Griſka, which afterwards gave riſe to the report that Griſka had perſonated Demetrius. As a proof that they were two diſtinct perſons, he informs us, that Boris Godunof ſent repeated expreſſes to his guards on the frontiers, to prevent all travellers from quitting the country, even ſhould they be provided with paſſports; for *two traitors* were endeavouring to eſcape into Poland. Margaret adds, Griſka was thirty five years of age, and Demetrius ſcarcely twenty-four; Griſka accompanied the new tzar to Moſcow, and was ſeen by many in that city, being a perſon well known, and having a brother who poſſeſſed an eſtate near Galitz; he was notorious before his flight into Poland for drunkenneſs, and, on account of his miſconduct, was baniſhed by Demetrius to Yaroſlaf. Margaret, moreover, was informed by an Engliſh merchant of Yaroſlaf, well acquainted with Griſka, that the monk, on receiving the news of the tzar's death, and even after the election of Vaſſili Shuiſki, ſolemnly proteſted that he, Demetrius, was the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch; and that he himſelf was Griſka Otrepief, who had conducted the prince into Poland. Soon

que ce temoin ait exiſté? Si les aſſaſſins furent trompés, n'ait il pas pu l'être lui même, et prendre pour le tzarévitch un enfant du même age! Ne convient-on-pas que Boris, &c. Mais Chouiſki mais Clechnin furent envoyés à Ouglitch par Boris; ils virent et reconnurent le corps du tzarévitch et lui rendirent les honneurs funebres. Eh! ſait-on ce qu'ont vu ces deux émiſſaires de Boris, ce qu'ils lui ont rapporté en ſecret? Le corps même qu'ils examinerent, defiguré par des bleſſures, et gardé long-temps ſans être embaumé, devrait être meconnaiſſable. On ignore abſolument ce qu'ils ont découvert, et ce qu'ils ont penſé. S'ils ont débité à leur retour une fable concertée entr'eux et le miniſtre, ils n'ont pu dans le ſuite faire connâitre la verité, ſans avouer qu'ils avoient été des fourbes vendus à un ſcélerat," &c. Vol. III. p. 227.—In a word, the belief that a child was ſubſtituted in the place of Demetrius, though liable to many objections, is yet attended with much fewer difficulties, than the notion that the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was an impoſtor.

afterwards Griſka was conveyed to Moſcow by order of Vaſſili Shuiſki, and diſappeared. (Margaret, 152 to 157.)

If this narrative is authentic, even according to the confeſſion of Muller, it completely refutes the repreſentation of the oppoſite party. In what manner then does this ingenious author attempt to diſcredit the poſitive teſtimony of Margaret? "But how," ſays he, "can we imagine, that any one could ever hold two perſons to be the ſame individual, at a time when the contrary could be eaſily proved?" The contrary indeed could be eaſily proved during the reign of Demetrius, when Griſka was at Moſcow or at Yaroſlaf, and at a time when few Ruſſians doubted the fact; but the aſſertion was not ſo eaſily refuted when Griſka diſappeared, and when no perſon durſt contradict the manifeſto of Vaſſili Shuiſki. "Let us ſuppoſe," adds Mr. Muller, "that the oppoſite party, in defiance of all truth, firſt invented ſo groudleſs a fable; let us ſuppoſe that Griſka was immediately baniſhed, as ſoon as the enemies of Demetrius made the latter paſs for that monk; how does it happen that no writer, beſide Margaret*, has taken notice of ſo remarkable a circumſtance?" It is generally allowed that one good evidence ought to outweigh a crowd of prejudiced witneſſes; ſo that if Margaret's credibility is ſuperior to that of his opponents, we muſt aſſent to the truth of his account. And who are the writers whoſe authority is preferred to that of Margaret? The native hiſtorians, who wrote after the acceſſion of Vaſſili Shuiſki; but their teſtimony cannot be admitted in this caſe; for could any Ruſſian venture to contradict the manifeſto of

* Margaret, however, does not ſtand ſingle in ſuppoſing Griſka, and him who paſſed for Demetrius, to be diſtinct perſons. For, among others, Conrad Buſſau, who was preſent at Moſcow during the troubles, aſſerts, that Demetrius was the natural ſon of Stephen Bathori king of Poland, which is ſufficient to ſhow that the report prevailed at the time that the tzar and Griſka were different perſons. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 191.

the ſovereign, or call in queſtion the ſanctity of the relics eſtabliſhed by a decree of the church* ?

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that one author is not liable to theſe ſuſpicions. "Petreius," continues Muller, "has given, in many inſtances, the moſt exact intelligence; and has demonſtrated the impoſture of the falſe Demetrius with many proofs. Is it poſſible, therefore, to ſuppoſe him ignorant that Demetrius and Griſka were two different perſons, if that fact had been well grounded?" Here then the teſtimony of Petreius is put in the oppoſite ſcale againſt that of Margaret; both foreigners, both preſent at Moſcow at the time of the inſurrection, both ſuppoſed to be unbiaſſed by the civil and religious prejudices of the Ruſſians; yet both of different ſentiments. Let us therefore examine their character and ſituation, and conſider whether any circumſtances render one writer more worthy of credit than the other. Margaret was a Frenchman, who entered

* It may perhaps be thought by many too bold to ſet aſide the authority of all the Ruſſian hiſtorians, who may be ſuppoſed to have obtained better intelligence than foreigners. But Muller calls in queſtion the teſtimony of a Ruſſian embaſſador in favour of Demetrius, becauſe he wrote at a time when he was upon the throne, and acknowledged by the whole nation; for the ſame reaſon, therefore, we muſt ſet aſide the evidence of the Ruſſians who wrote after his aſſaſſination, and at a time when his impoſture was made an article of the public faith.

Indeed, if it is conſidered the ſuſpicious documents from which the Ruſſian authors drew their materials, this mode of reaſoning will not appear unjuſtifiable. Of all the Ruſſian writings relating to the hiſtory of Demetrius, cited by Muller, the principal are the manifeſto of Shuiſki, and a manuſcript account of the troubles, compiled by order of the tzar Michael, and ſent to the king of France as a juſtification of the war againſt Sweden. But ſuch documents iſſuing from government muſt in this inſtance be allowed to be exceptionable.—In all affairs, wherein national prejudices are not concerned, the evidence of a native is preferable to that of foreigners; but the teſtimony of foreigners becomes ſuperior, when the natives are warped by fear or prejudice.

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the Ruſſian ſervice in the reign of Boris Godunof, was preſent in the army ſent againſt Demetrius, and always acted with approved bravery and fidelity. Afterwards, when Demetrius aſcended the throne, he was continued in his ſervice as captain of the guards. He poſſeſſed, therefore, many opportunities of inveſtigating his real hiſtory, and he has recorded it in his "Eſtat de l'Empire de Ruſſie, &c." which, on his return to France, he publiſhed at the command of Henry IV.

Muller, however, objects to the authenticity of Margaret's narrative: "A witneſs of this ſort would not be admitted in any court of juſtice, and cannot, in this inſtance, merit our belief. His judgment might be warped; partly from conſidering it as a diſgrace to have engaged in the ſervice of an impoſtor, and partly from not being well uſed by the oppoſite party after the death of the falſe Demetrius. Hence he might be enticed, from motives of reſentment, to brand with infamy the enemies of Demetrius, and to treat as mere falſehoods all the reports of the impoſtor's real origin. We muſt, therefore, accuſe Margaret either of having advanced a falſehood; or ſuppoſe that he had heard of another Otrepief, who was at that time preſent at Moſcow, and whom he ſtrangely confounds with Griſka*." This is the only objection which even the ingenuity of Muller can urge againſt Margaret.

Petreius, whoſe authority is fondly preferred to that of Margaret, was miniſter † from Charles IX. king of Sweden, to the court of Moſcow in the reigns of Boris Godunof, Demetrius, and Vaſſili Shuiſki. The cloſe connection of Demetrius with Sigiſmond king of Poland, induced Charles IX. to tender his aſſiſtance to Boris Godunof, upon the firſt entrance of the new claimant into Ruſſia. Charles is alſo repreſented as greatly alarmed

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 182 and 193.

† Dalin's Geſchichte von Schweden, vol. IV. p. 475.

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at the ſucceſs of Demetrius, and after his aſſaſſination concluded a treaty of the ſtricteſt amity with Vaſſili Shuiſki. It was therefore the intereſt of the Swediſh court to repreſent Demetrius as an impoſtor; and Petreius, as Swediſh miniſter, naturally countenanced the report patronized by his maſter. But ſhould we even allow that Petreius was not influenced in his judgment by the politics of his own court; yet, as an author, he is liable to great exception: for the numberleſs fictions and groſs miſrepreſentations, which he retails in his Chronicle, prove extreme proneneſs to credulity*. On the contrary, the credibility of Margaret ſtands unimpeached, and even the penetrating ſagacity of Muller himſelf can only diſcover in his work a few trifling errors. It appears then, that both as to character and ſituation, the teſtimony of Margaret is preferable to that of Petreius; and if the queſtion is to be ultimately decided by one of theſe two writers, whoſe authority is the moſt unqueſtionable, the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was no impoſtor, but the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.

I ſhall now throw together ſome particulars, which,

* Muller has noticed and corrected innumerable errors, relative to the moſt important tranſactions, in the Chronicle of Petreius. It would be endleſs to mention them, I ſhall therefore only relate one, which unqueſtionably proves the credulity of Petreius. "Feodor Ivanovitch," ſays that author, "upon his death-bed, being requeſted by the nobility to name a ſucceſſor, anſwered, 'That perſon to whom I ſhall deliver my ſceptre ſhall be tzar after me.' Soon afterwards he offered it to Feodor Nikitich Romanof; but he delivered it to his brother Alexander, who gave it to a third called John, who preſented it to a fourth called Michael. The latter paſſed it to another nobleman: at laſt the tzar threw the ſceptre from him, crying out in a paſſion, 'Take it who will;' upon which Boris took it up, and the tzar died immediately." This ridiculous tale is contradicted by the moſt authentic records, by the whole hiſtory of the ſubſequent election of Boris Godunof; and yet this is the writer whoſe authority is oppoſed to Margaret. See S. R. G. vol. V. p. 64, &c.

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in addition to thoſe already enumerated, induce me to eſpouſe the opinion that the tzar was no impoſtor.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof. 2. Suppoſed reſemblance between the real Demetrius and the perſon who reigned in his name. 3. His ſucceſs and conduct upon the throne. 4. Teſtimony of Maria Feodorofna. 5. Arguments uſed by the Ruſſians to prove the impoſture.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof plainly demonſtrates that he thought him the real Demetrius. For otherwiſe, why did he not produce Maria Feodorofna, and obtain her public avowal that her ſon was not alive? Her teſtimony at that time would have unqueſtionably aſcertained the impoſture of the perſon, who claimed the throne as her offspring. Probably Boris Godunof examined her privately; and, finding her to perſiſt in her aſſertion, that Demetrius had eſcaped from Uglitz, he removed her to a convent at a conſiderable diſtance from Moſcow, that ſhe might not ſanction the pretenſions of his rival.

2. The ſuppoſed reſemblance between the prince Demetrius, who was educated at Uglitz, and the perſon who reigned under his name. He had a wart under the right eye, and one arm ſhorter than the other. "But how is it known," ſaid Muller, "that the prince had theſe defects? for they are not mentioned in the Ruſſian narratives, but only related by foreigners, who had never ſeen him. May we not therefore ſuppoſe them mere inventions, calculated to diſplay ſome reſemblance between the true and falſe Demetrius*?" To this we may reply, that the Ruſſian accounts, evidently compiled after this period, and chiefly taken from the manifeſtos of government, would never record any circumſtance which might tend to favour a likeneſs between a perſon whom they ſtyled an impoſtor, and the young prince. And it may be added, if the tzar alledged the wart under his right

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 190.

eye,

eye, and the ſhortneſs of his arm, as proofs of his being the real Demetrius; who can ſuppoſe that the prince had not theſe defects, when there were ſo many perſons of the firſt diſtinction who could contradict the truth of the report? "But even allowing the fact," continues Muller, "the concluſion by no means follows, as the ſtrongeſt reſemblance has been frequently obſerved between two different perſons; and it is likewiſe poſſible, that the falſe Demetrius might have imitated a wart in his face, and have feigned a defect in his arm." It is barely poſſible, indeed, to account for theſe circumſtances in this manner; ſtill, however, they muſt be conſidered, though not as poſitive, yet as preſumptive evidence in his favour, eſpecially when joined to collateral proofs.

3. The ſucceſs of his enterprize, and conduct upon the throne, ſeem to prove that he was the real Demetrius. He entered Ruſſia with an inconſiderable force, which increaſed as he advanced; and though totally defeated, and almoſt deſerted by the Poles, yet his army was ſoon recruited, and became more formidable than before his diſcomfiture. Perſons of the firſt diſtinction joined him from all quarters, and the more he became perſonally known to the Ruſſians, the greater number of partizans flocked to his ſtandand. Nor did this ſeem owing to any want of popularity in Boris Godunof, whoſe adminiſtration was greatly reſpected for vigour and wiſdom; it rather proceeded from a general conviction that he was Demetrius. When ſeated upon the throne he did not act like an impoſtor. Had he been one, he would ſcarcely have pardoned Vaſſili Shuiſki, who had thrown doubts upon the reality of his deſcent. Inſtead of diſbelieving the ſtrong reports of an impending inſurrection, he would have turned a ready ear to the ſlighteſt rumours of plots and machinations, and have taken every precaution againſt them. In a word, his general character was as thoughtleſs and inconſiderate as it was open

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and ſincere; but, above all, his freedom from ſuſpicion and jealouſy were incompatible with the principles of an uſurper *.

4. The conduct of Maria Feodorofna muſt be admitted as ſupporting the ſame ſide of the queſtion. After having openly acknowledged him for her ſon, ſhe is ſaid to have publicly diſowned him. If both the avowal and denial were equally public, they both might have been extorted by fear, and her teſtimony muſt be conſidered as null. For what credit can that woman deſerve who at one time admitted a perſon to be her ſon, and at another rejected him? We may obſerve, however, this difference, that in one inſtance ſhe owned him in perſon; in the other, ſhe was not confronted with him, but her anſwer was brought by Vaſſili Shuiſki †, who was moſt intereſted to prove him an impoſtor. It therefore follows, that if (as ſeems to be the caſe) her avowal was public, and her denial was not, the former is more to be depended upon than the latter, and her teſtimony muſt be admitted in his favour ‡.

5. The

* "Puis parlons," ſays Margaret, "de ſa clemence, envers un chacun après qu'il fut receu en Moſco, et principalement envers Vacilli Choutſqui, lequel fut convaincu de trahiſon, &c. et meſmes fut ledit Demetrius prié par tous les aſſiſtans de le faire mourir, vu qu'il s'eſtait toujours trouvé perturbateur du repos public. Je parle comme ayant ouy et veu le tout de mes oreilles. Ce non obſtant il luy pardonna, combien que Demetrius ſçavoit bien que nul n'oſoit aſpirer à la couronne que la dite maiſon de Chouitſqui. Il pardonna auſſi à pluſieurs autres; car il eſtoit ſans ſoupçon," p. 171.

'Si il ſe fut ſenty coupable en aucune choſe, il euſt eu juſte ſujet de croire les machinations et trahiſons complottées et trammées contre ſa perſonne, des quelles il etoit aſſez adverty, et y euſt pû remedier avec grande facilité," p. 174.

† Mr. Muller ſays, Vaſſili Shuiſki *took the trouble of repairing himſelf* to the convent. Gab ſich ſelbſt die muehe.

‡ The Ruſſian authors aſſert, that at the time when the relics were conveyed to Moſcow, ſhe publicly retracted her former teſtimony in his favour, upon their firſt interview near Moſcow; confeſſing, that ſhe had been induced by threats, as well as from a de-

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5. The very arguments advanced by the Ruſſians to prove his impoſture, ſtrongly eſtabliſh the contrary poſition. For how was the reality of his imperial deſcent invalidated by his being a ſorcerer, an heretic, or a muſician; by his predilection to the Poles, not bowing to the image of St. Nicholas, not bathing, eating veal, and ſuch frivolous accuſations? Does not the adoption of theſe nugatory inſinuations beſpeak a great deficiency of ſolid arguments? they may incline, indeed, the Ruſſians to believe him an uſurper, but do not prove him one in the eyes of diſpaſſionate judges, The truth ſeems to be, that as he began to loſe the affection of his ſubjects by his inconſiderate contempt of their cuſtoms and religion, theſe, and many other unfavourable reports, calculated to raiſe and increaſe the popular odium, were circulated by the intrigues of Vaſſili Shuiſki, who, upon his aſſaſſination, was raiſed to the throne.

The ſame remarks extend, with ſtill greater force, to the aſſertion, that the body interred at Uglitz was that of the real Demetrius from its uncorrupted ſtate, and the miracles it performed. For the uncorrupted ſtate of the body, when firſt conveyed to Moſcow, evidently proves it to have been ſuppoſititious; and the miracles it is ſaid to have performed will convert no proſelytes without the pale of the Ruſſian church. When every expedient failed of convincing the generality of the Ruſſians, that the tzar was an impoſtor, recourſe was had to

fire of procuring her liberty, to acknowledge an alien for her ſon. But how are we certain that ſhe really made this public confeſſion? Its truth entirely reſts upon the Ruſſian papers, which cannot, in this inſtance, be eſteemed authentic records. Why was her public recantation poſtponed to ſo late a period? and why was ſhe not confronted with the tzar, when he repeatedly appealed to her teſtimony as the ſtrongeſt proof of his being the real Demetrius? Have we not every reaſon to conclude, either that ſhe did not publicly retract her former aſſeverations in his favour; or that, being in Vaſſili Shuiſki's power, ſhe was finally compelled to act in ſubſerviency to his mandate?

pretended

pretended miracles and ſacred relics. And it muſt be allowed, that this method of convincing an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people, who doubted (and there were many who doubted) was a ſtroke of the moſt conſummate policy; as by theſe means the aſſertions of Vaſſili Shuiſki were ſanctified by an eccleſiaſtical decree; and the impoſture of his rival became an article of public faith. Indeed, ſuch is the ſuperſtition with which the uſurpation of Griſka is ſtill maintained, that even at this diſtance of time no Ruſſian hiſtorian could venture to hint that Demetrius was not aſſaſſinated at Uglitz, and that the perſon who aſſumed his name was not Griſka: for it would be contradicting a fundamental principle of belief, and rejecting the relics of a ſaint much revered in this country.

No. 2.

Geographical Diviſion of the Ruſſian Empire into Governments, Provinces, and Diſtricts.

AS the new diviſion of Ruſſia into governments, provinces, and diſtricts, by Catherine the Second, has totally altered the geography of that vaſt empire; and as no accurate account of the general diviſion yet given to the public has fallen under my obſervation, I ſhall here ſubjoin a liſt communicated to me in February 1785, from undoubted authority.

In comparing this liſt of governments with that given in Book 6. ch. 1. of this work, the reader will find a difference in the number and names of the governments; for inſtance, this liſt enumerates 41, the other 40 governments. This liſt mentions the governments of Archangel, Catherinenſlaf, Olonetz, and Caucaſus; and the other thoſe of Aſtracan, Azof, and New Ruſſia. But this difference may eaſily be reconciled, by conſidering that the former liſt was made in 1782, the latter in 1784, when ſeveral alterations had taken place in the names of the governments, particularly that Olonetz was formerly included in the government of Novogorod, and Archangel in that of Vologda, from which they have been ſince ſeparated; that the names of New Ruſſia and of Azof have been changed for that of Ecatherinenſlaf; and that the government of Caucaſus has been lately added, and compriſes the government of Aſtracan.

Preſent Diviſion of the Ruſſian Empire into Governments, Provinces, and Diſtricts.

FORTY-ONE GOVERNMENTS.

I. Government of St. Peterſburgh.

This government compriſes that tract of country called Ingermanland, or Ingria, wreſted by Peter the Great from the Swedes, and confirmed to Ruſſia at the peace of Nyſtadt, in 1721.

IT IS DIVIDED INTO 10 DISTRICTS.

1. St. Peterſburgh.
2. Oranienbaum, on the gulf of Finland.
3. Yſamburgh, on the river Luga, diſcharging itſelf into the gulf of Finland.
4. Luga, on the upper part of the ſame river.
5. Narva, on the river Narova, which falls into the gulf of Finland.
6. Gvof, near the eaſt ſide of lake Peipus, on a rivulet called Gvofka.
7. Rokeſtven, or Rokeſtvenſk, on the rivulet Oredeſh, falling into the Luga.
8. Sophia, near Zarſkoe Zelo.
9. Schlueſſelburgh, on the Neva, where this river iſſues from the Ladoga.
10. New Ladoga, on the river Volkhof, between the lake and the channel of the Ladoga.

II. Government of Olonetz,

Formerly included in the government of Novogorod,

CONTAINS 5 DISTRICTS.

1. Petroſavodſk, on the river Schua, falling into the lake Onega.
2. Olonetz, on the river Olonza, falling into the eaſt ſide of the Ladoga.
3. Vytegra, on the river of the ſame name, falling into the ſouth ſide of the Onega.

4. Kargopol,

4. Kargopol, near the river Onega, at its origin from the lake Latcha.
5. Povenetz, on the north ſide of the Onega, where the rapid rivulet Povenetz falls into it.

III. Government of Wiburgh, or Ruſſian Finland.

This government was formerly ſubject to Sweden, and comprized in Carelia; part was ceded to Ruſſia at the peace of Nyſtadt, in 1721, and part by the treaty of Abo, 1741.

IT CONTAINS, 6 DISTRICTS.

1. Wiburgh, on the north ſide of the gulf of Finland.
2. Willmanſtrand, near the lake Saima.
3. Fredericſham, on the gulf of Finland.
4. Nyſlot, near the lake Utruſs.
5. Kexholm, on two ſmall iſlands of the river Woxen, falling into the Ladoga.
6. Serdobol, on the north-weſtern ſide of the Ladoga.

IV. Government of Revel, or Eſthonia.

Revel was confirmed to the Swedes at the peace of Oliva, conquered by Peter the Great in 1710, and finally ceded to Ruſſia in 1721.

IT CONTAINS 5 DISTRICTS.

1. Revel, on the Baltic ſea.
2. Baltic-Port, about 40 verſts weſtward from Revel.
3. Habſal, or Hapſal, a maritime town.
4. Weiſſenſtein, on the rivulet Saida, about 80 verſts from Revel.
5. Weſenberg, about 100 verſts from Revel, at about an equal diſtance from that town and Narva.

V. Government of Riga, or Livonia, ceded to Ruſſia in 1721.

IT CONTAINS 9 DISTRICTS.

1. Riga, on the Duna, 14 verſts from its mouth.

2. Wenden, on the river Aa.
3. Wolmar, on the ſame river.
4. Walk, on a rivulet falling into the ſouth ſide of lake Wyrtz.
5. Werro, on the weſt ſide of lake Peipus.
6. Dorpt, on the river Em, or Embak, which iſſues from the lake Wyrtz, and falls into the Peipus.
7. Fellin, on the ſmall river of the ſame name.
8. Perneau, on the river of that name, near the Baltic Sea.
9. Arenſburgh, on the iſland Oeſel.

VI. Government of Pſkof,

A republic, ſubdued by Vaſſili Ivanovitch, and formerly comprized in the government of Novogorod.

CONTAINS 9 DISTRICTS.

1. Pſkof, called by foreigners Pleſkof, on the river Velika, or Velikaia.
2. Petchora, on the rivulet Simſha, falling into the ſouth part of the Peipus, or the lake of Pſkof.
3. Oſtrof, or Oſtrofſk, on an iſland of the river Velika.
4. Opotchka, on an iſland of the ſame river.
5. Novorſhef, on an iſland of the ſmall lake of Padzo, through which flows the river Velikaia.
6. Velikie Luki, on the left ſide of the river Lovat, falling into the lake Ilmen.
7. Toropez, on the river Toropa, falling into the Duna,
8. Kholm, on the river Lovat.
9. Porkhof, on the river Schelef.

VII. Government of Novogorod,

A powerful republic, finally reduced by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. and united to the Ruſſian empire,

CONSTAINS 10 DISTRICTS.

1. Novogorod, on the river Volkof, near the lake Ilmen.

2. Kreſtetz,

2. Kreſtetz, on the river Khlova, falling into the Mſta.
3. Staraia Ruſſa, on the river Poliſh, about 15 verſts ſouth of the Ilmen.
4. Valdai, on the weſt ſide of the lake of Valdai,
5. Borovitchi, on the river Mſta.
6. Tikhvin, on the rivulet of that name, falling into the Siaſs, which diſcharges itſelf into the Ladoga.
7. Uſtiuſhna, on the Mologa, falling into the Volga.
8. Tcherepovetz, on the river Schekſna, falling into the Volga.
9. Kirilof, on the ſame river.
10. Bieloſerſk, on the ſouth ſide of the Bieloſero, near the river Schekſna.

VIII. Government of Tver.

An independent principality, united to the Ruſſian empire by Ivan Vaſſilievitch, and comprized in the government of Novogorod. It was ſeparated from Novogorod, and was the firſt government eſtabliſhed upon the new plan.

CONTAINS 13 DISTRICTS.

1. Tver, on the Volga, where that river is joined by the Tverza.
2. Vyſhnèi Volotſhek, on the river Zna.
3. Torſhok, on the Tverza.
4. Oſtaſhkof, on an iſland of the lake Seliger.
5. Rſhef-Volodimerof, on the left ſide of the Volga.
6. Subzof, on the left ſide of the ſame river.
7. Staritza, on the Volga.
8. Kraſnoi Kholm, on the river Schoça, which falls into the Mologa.
9. Koliaſin, on the Volga.
10. Kakin, near the Volga.
11. Beſhetzk, on the Mologa.
12. Kortchera, or Kortchef, on the Volga.
13. Veſiegonſk, on the river Mologa.

IX. Government of Smolenſko.

After being an object of contention, and reciprocally poſſeſſed by Poland and Ruſſia, was conquered by Alexey Michaelovitch in 1654, and finally ceded to Ruſſia at the peace of Moſcow, in 1666,

CONTAINS 12 DISTRICTS.

1. Smolenſko, on both ſides of the Dnieper.
2. Poretchie, on the river Kaſplia, falling into the Duna.
3. Dukortchina, on the Dnieper.
4. Bieloi, on the ſmall river Vobiſha, falling into the Meſha, which diſcharges itſelf into the Duna.
5. Sytcherſk, on the river Vaſuſa, falling into the Volga.
6. Gſhatſk, or Gſhat, on the river Gſhat, falling into the Vaſuſa.
7. Viaſma, on the river Viaſma, falling into the Dnieper.
8. Dorogobuſh, on the Dnieper.
9. Yukhnof, on the Ugra, falling into the Occa.
10. Felna, on the Deſna.
11. Roſtarl, on the Oſter, which falls into the Soſh.
12. Kraſnoi, on a rivulet which falls into the Dnieper.

X. Government of Polotſk,

Diſmembered from Poland by the Treaty of Partition in 1772,

CONTAINS 11 DISTRICTS.

1. Polotſk, on the Duna, at the mouth of the ſmall river Polota.
2. Driſſa, or Dryſin, on the river Driſſa, falling into the Duna.
3. Dunaburgh, on the right ſide of the Duna.
4. Reſitza, on the rivulet Reſiza, or Roſitten, falling into the lake Liubahn.
5. Liutzin, on the river Liſha, which falls into the river Velikaja.
6. Sebeſh, on the lake Sebeſh.
7. Nevel, on the lake Nevel.

8. Vifebſk, on the Duna.
9. Gorodetzk, or Gorodok, on a rivulet falling into the Duna.
10. Veliſh, on the Duna.
11. Suraſh, on the Duna.

XI. Government of Mohilef,

Diſmembered alſo by the Treaty of Partition in 1772,

CONTAINS 11 DISTRICTS.

1. Mohilef, on the Dnieper.
2. Kopyſs, on the Dnieper.
3. Orſha, on the Dnieper.
4. Sennoi, near lake Sennoie, communicating with the Duna.
5. Babinovitchi, on the river Lutchoſſa, falling into the Duna.
6. Miſhiſlaf, on the river Vokra, falling into the Soſh.
7. Klimovitchi, on the river Oſter, falling into the Soſh.
8. Tſchauſy, on the river Pronja, falling into the Soſh.
9. Staroi Bykhof, on the Dnieper.
10. Rogatchef, near the Poliſh frontiers, where the river Drutz, or Drugez, falls into the Dnieper.
11. Belitzy, on a rivulet falling into the Soſh.

XII. Government of Orel,

Once a province of the government of Bielgorod,

CONTAINS 13 DISTRICTS.

1. Orel, on the rivers Occa and Orel.
2. Kromy, on the Occa.
3. Mzenſk, on the rivulets Suſha and Menza, falling into the Occa.
4. Bolkof, on the river Nugra, falling into the Occa.
5. Livny, on the left ſide of the river Soſſna, falling into the Don.
6. Feletz, on the left ſide of the river Soſſna.
7. Sieſſk, on the river Sief, falling into the Deſna.

8. Maloi Arkhangelſk, on the river Soſſna.
9. Dmitroffſk, on the rivulet Neruſer, falling into the Sief.
10. Deſhkin, on the Occa.
11. Trubtcheffſk, on the left ſide of the Deſna.
12. Branſk, on the Deſna.
13. Karatchef, on the rivulet Sneſet, falling into the Deſna.

XIII. Government of Kaluga.

Formerly a province in the government of Moſcow,

CONTAINS 12 DISTRICTS.

1. Kaluga, on the Occa.
2. Maloiaroſlavetz, on the ſmall river Luſha, falling into the Occa.
3. Barovſk, on the river Protva, falling into the Occa.
4. Taruſſa, on the Occa.
5. Likhvin, on the left ſide of the Occa.
6. Koſelſk, on the left ſide of the ſmall river Shiſdra, falling into the Occa.
7. Medynſk, on a rivulet falling into the Ugra.
8. Peremyſchl, on the left ſide of the Occa.
9. Mechovſk, on a rivulet falling into the Shiſdra.
10. Moſſalſk, on a ſmall river falling into the Ugra.
11. Serpeiſk, on the ſmall river Serpei, falling into the Ugra.
12. Shiſdra, on the river of the ſame name.

XIV. Government of Moſcow,

One of the moſt antient and moſt conſpicuous provinces of the Ruſſian empire. Its capital, Moſcow, built in 1147, was the reſidence of the ſovereign, till Peter the Great transferred the ſeat of empire to Peterſburgh;

CONTAINS 5 DISTRICTS.

1. Moſcow, on the river Moſcva, falling into the Occa.
2. Kolomna.

2. Kolomna Moſcva, about 5 verſts from its junction with the Occa.
3. Branitzy, on the Moſcva, between Moſco and Kolomna.
4. Podol, or Podolſk, on the river Pakria, falling into the Moſcva.
5. Nikitſk, on the ſame river.
6. Serpukhof, on the river Nara, 4 verſts from its junction with the Occa.
7. Vereia, on the Protva, falling into the Occa.
8. Moſhaiſk, on the ſmall river Moſhaika, falling into the Moſcva.
9. Ruſa, on the left ſide of the river Ruſa, falling into Moſcva.
10. Voſkreſenk, on the river Iſter, falling into the Moſcva.
11. Svenigorod, on the Moſcva, near the mouth of the Iſter.
12. Voloklamſkoi, or Volokolampſk, on the river Lama, falling into the Scoſha, which diſcharges itſelf into the Volga.
13. Klin, on the river Seſtra, falling into the Dubnia, which joins the Volga.
14. Dmitrof, on the ſmall river Vakhroma, which, uniting with the Seſtra, forms the river Dubnia.
15. Bogorodſk, on the river Kliaſma.

XV. Government of Tula,

Formerly a province of the government of Moſcow,

CONTAINS 12 DISTRICTS.

1. Tula, on the river Upa, falling into the Occa.
2. Krapirna, on the ſame river.
3. Odeief, on the ſame river.
4. Venef, on the rivulet Venefka, falling into the Oſſetr, which joins the Occa.
5. Alexin, on the Occa.

6 Kachira,

6. Kachira, on the ſame river.
7. Bagoroditzk, on the river Upa.
8. Tſchern, on the rivulet of the ſame name, falling into the Suſha, which flows into the Occa.
9. Novoſyl, on the rivulet Nerutcha, falling into the Suſha.
10. Bielef on the Occa.
11. Epiphan, on the Don.
12. Ephremof, or Yephremof, on the river Metcha, falling into the Don.

XVI. Government of Reſan,

Formerly a province of the government of Moſcow,

CONTAINS 12 DISTRICTS.

1. Reſan, on the Trubeſh, falling into the Occa.
2. Saraiſn, on the river Oſetr.
3. Pronſk, on the river Pronca, falling into the Occa.
4. Mikhailof on the river Pronca.
5. Skopin, on the ſmall river Ranvf, falling into the Occa.
6. Riachk, on a rivulet falling into the Voroneſk.
7. Kaſſimof, on the Occa.
8. Raninburgh, on the river Reſe, falling into the Voroneſh.
9. Spaſk, on the Occa.
10. Yegorief, or Yegorjefſk, on a ſmall river falling into the Occa.
11. Sapoſhok, on a river falling into the Occa.
12. Donkof, or Dankof, on the Don.

XVII. Government of Volodimir,

Formerly a province of the government of Moſcow,

CONTAINS 14 DISTRICTS.

1. Volodimir, or Vladimir, on the river Kliaſma.
2. Suſdal, on a rivulet falling into the Kliaſma.

3. Yurief

3. Yurief Polſkoi, on a ſmall river falling into the Kliaſma.
4. Alexandrof, or Alexandroffk, on the river Schernia, falling into the Kliaſma.
5. Kovrof, on the river Kliaſma.
6. Pokrof, on the ſame river.
7. Gorokhovetzk, on the ſame river.
8. Sudogda, on a river of the ſame name, falling into the Kliaſma.
9. Viaſniki, on the river Kliaſma.
10. Murom, on the Occa.
11. Pereſlavl Saleſkoi, on the rivulet Trubeſh, falling into the lake of Pereſlavl.
12. Schuia, on the river Teſs, falling into the Kliaſma.
13. Kirſhatch, on a rivulet falling into the Kliaſma.
14. Melenki, on the ſmall river Unſha, falling into the Occa.

XVIII. Government of Yaroſlaf,

Formerly a province of the government of Moſcow,

CONTAINS 12 DISTRICTS.

1. Yaroſlaf, on the Volga, where the river Kotoroſl falls into it.
2. Roſtof, on the north ſide of the ſmall lake Nero, called therefore the lake of Roſtof, communicating with the Volga by the river Kotoroſl.
3. Bariſſoglebſk, on the Volga.
4. Romanof, on the Volga, oppoſite to the laſt mentioned town.
5. Danilof, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
6. Liubim, on the river Negra, falling into the Kaſtroma.
7. Pocheckhon, or Pochekhonie, on the river Sagoſha, falling into the Schekſna.
8. Uglitch, on the Volga.
9. Rybnoi, on the Volga.
10. Mychkin, on the Volga.
11. Petroffk, on a ſmall river falling into the lake Nero.
12. Mologa, on the Volga.

XIX. Govern-

XIX. Government of Vologda,

Formerly the largeſt of all the Ruſſian European governments, as it contained the provinces of Vologda, Archangel, and Veliki-Uſtiug.

This government is divided into two provinces, Vologda and Veliki-Uſtiug.

Province of Vologda.

CONTAINS 5 DISTRICTS.

1. Vologda, on the river Vologda, falling into the Sukhona.
2. Griaſovetz, on a river falling into the Sukhona.
3. Kadnikof, on a river falling likewiſe into the Sukhona.
4. Totma, on the left ſide of the Sukhona.
5. Veleſk, or Velſk, on the river Vaga.

Province of Veliki-Uſtiug,

CONTAINS 7 DISTRICTS.

1. Uſtiug-Veliki, on the river Sukhona.
2. Nikolſk, on a rivulet falling into the Sukhona.
3. Lalſk, on the ſmall river Liala, falling into the Luſa.
4. Solvytchegodſk, or Solivytchegodſk, on the river Vytchegda.
5. Kraſnoborſk, on the left ſide of the Dvina.
6. Yarenſk, on the right ſide of the Vytchegda, where it takes in the ſmall river Yarenga.
7. Uſtſyſolk, on the river Syſſol, falling about a verſt below this town into the Vytchegda.

XX. Government of Archangel,

Formerly included in the Government of Vologda,

CONTAINS 7 DISTRICTS.

1. Archangel, on the Dvina, about 70 verſts from its mouth.

2. Kolmogori,

2. Kolmogori, on the Dvina.
3. Schenkurſk, on the river Vaga.
4. Pineg, on the right ſide of the Dvina, where the river Pinega falls into it.
5. Onega, on the river Onega, in Ruſſian Lapland.
6. Kola, on the river Kola, near the Bay of Kola, in the Frozen Ocean.
7. Meſen, on the river Meſen, falling into the Frozen Sea.

XXI. Government of Koſtroma.

Formerly included in the government of Moſcow,

Two provinces,

A. Koſtroma, B. Unſha,

CONTAINS 11 DISTRICTS.

1. Koſtroma, near the mouth of the Volga.
2. Nerechta, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
3. Pleſs, on the Volga.
4. Kadyi, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
5. Bui, on the river Koſtroma, where it takes in the river Vara.
6. Galitch, on the lake of that name, communicating with the river Koſtroma by the ſmall rivulet Vara.
7. Tchukhloma, near a lake of the ſame name.
8. Solgalitzk, on the Koſtroma.
9. Kinechma, on the Volga.
10. Yuricvetz Povolſskvi, on the Volga, three verſts below the mouth of the Unſha.
11. Lukh, on a river falling into the Volga.

B. Province of Unſha.

CONTAINS 3 DISTRICTS.

1. Makarief, on the Unſha.
2. Varnovin, on the river Vetluga.
3. Vetluga, on the ſame river.

XXII. Govern-

XXII. Government of Neſhnei Novogorod,

CONTAINS 13 DISTRICTS.

1. Niſhnei Novogorod, on the Volga, below the mouth of the Occa.
2. Balakhna, on the right ſide of the Volga.
3. Arſamas, on the ſmall river Teſha, falling into the Occa.
4. Makarief, on the Volga.
5. Vaſſil, on the Volga.
6. Semenof, on the rivulet Kerſhenz, falling into the Volga.
7. Ardatof, on the river Teſh, falling into the Occa.
8. Gorbatof, on the Occa.
9. Sergatch, on the river Piana, falling into the Sura.
10. Perevoſs, on the ſame river.
11. Kniaginin, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
12. Lykaianof, on the upper part of the Teſh.
13. Potchinki, on the river Alator, falling into the Sura.

XXIII. Government of Caſan.

Conquered from the Tartars by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. in 1552,

CONTAINS 13 DISTRICTS.

1. Caſan, on the rivulet Caſanka, falling into the Volga.
2. Sviaſk, on the river Sviaga, a few verſts from its junction with the Volga.
3. Arſk, on the river Caſanka.
4. Zyvilſk, on the river Zyvil, falling into the Volga.
5. Tſchebaxar, on the Volga, near the mouth of the rivulet Tſchebaxarka.
6. Yadrin, on the river Sura.
7. Kuſmodemianſk on the Volga.
8. Tzarevokokchaiſk, on a rivulet Malaia Kokchaga, falling into the Volga.
9. Tetiuki, on the Volga.

10. Laikef,

10 Laikef, on the river Kama.
11. Spaſk, on the Volga.
12. Tchiſzopolſk, on the Kama.
13. Mamadyſh, on the Viatka, falling into the Kama.

XXIV. Government of Simbirſk,

Formerly a province of the kingdom of Caſan,

CONTAINS 13 DISTRICTS.

1. Simbirſk, or Sinbirſk, on the Volga.
2. Singilief, on the Volga.
3. Stavropal, on the Volga.
4. Samara, near the junction of the Volga and Samara.
5. Sifran, on the Volga, where it takes in the ſmall river Sifran.
6. Kanadei, on the river Sifran.
7. Tagai, on a rivulet falling into the Sviaga.
8. Buinſk, on the river Sviaga.
9. Karſun, on a ſmall river falling into the Sura.
10. Kotiakof, on the right ſide of the river Sura.
11. Ardatof, on the Alator.
12. Alatoc, on the Sura, where it takes in the Alator.
13. Kurmyk, on the Sura.

XXV. Government of Penza,

Formerly a province of Caſan,

CONTAINS 13 DISTRICTS.

1. Penza, on the river Sura, where it receives the rivulet Penſa.
2. Mokchainſk, weſt of Penza.
3. Inſara, on the river Inſara, falling into the Mokcha.
4. Verkhnei Lomof, on the river Lomof.
5. Niſhnie Lomof, on the ſame river.
6. Narovtchat, on a rivulet falling into the Mokcha, which joins the Occa.
7. Troitzk, on the Mokcha.
8. Kraſnoſlobodſk,

8. Krafnoflobodfk, on the fame river.
9. Scheckeief, on a rivulet falling into the Alator.
10. Saranfk, on another rivulet falling into the Alator
11. Goroditch, on a rivulet falling into the Sura.
12. Kerenfk, on a rivulet falling into the Mokcha.
13. Tchembar, on the fmall river Tchembar, falling into the Vorona, which flows to the Khoper.

XXVI. Government of Tanbof,

Formerly part of the government of Voronetz.

CONTAINS 13 DISTRICTS.

1. Tambof, on the river Zna, which falls into the Mokcha.
2. Schatfk, on the rivulet Schat, falling into the Zna.
3. Kadom, on the river Mokcha.
4. Temnikof, on the fame river.
5. Iclatma, on the Occa.
6. Koflof, on the rivulet Ufnoi Voronetz.
7. Uffman, on the fmall river Uffman, falling into the Voronetz.
8. Lebedian, on the Don.
9. Boriffoglebfk, on the Khoper.
10. Morca, on the Zna.
11. Spafk, on a rivulet falling into the Mokcha.
12. Kirffanof, on the Vorona, falling into the Khoper.
13. Lipetzk, on the Voronetz.

XXVII. Government of Voronetz,

CONTAINS 15 DISTRICTS.

1. Voronetz, on the river Voronefh, about 14 verfts from its junction with the Don.
2. Sadonfk, on the Don.
3. Semlianfk, on a rivulet falling into the Don.
4. Nifhnedevitzk, on the rivulet Devitza, falling into the Don.

5. Korotoian,

5. Korotoian, on the Don.
6. Bobrof, on the Biſiuk, falling into the Don.
7. Birutch, on the river Soſna, falling into the Don.
8. Oſtrogoſchk, on a rivulet falling into the Soſna.
9. Pavlovſk, on the Don.
10. Kalitva, on the rivulet Kalitva, falling into the Don.
11. Bogutchar, on a rivulet of the ſame name, falling into the Don.
12. Bielovodſk, on the river Derkul, falling into the Donek.
13. Valuiki, on the river Oſkol, where it receives the rivulet Valui.
14. Livenſk, on the rivulet Valui.
15. Kupenſk, on the river Oſkol,

XXVIII. Government of Kurſk,

Formerly part of the government of Bielgorod,

CONTAINS 15 DISTRICTS.

1. Kurſk, on the river Tukor, falling into the rive Seim, or Sem.
2. Lgof, on the Seim.
3. Rylſk, on the ſame river.
4. Pretive, on the ſame river.
5. Fateſh, on a rivulet falling into the Svopa.
6. Tchigry, on a rivulet falling into the Tim.
7. Tim, on the river of the ſame name, falling into the Soſna.
8. Oboian, on the river Pſol.
9. Sudſha, on a rivulet of the ſame name, falling into the Pſol.
10. Bogatoi, on the rivulet Penna, falling into the Pſol.
11. Dmitrief, on the Svopa.
12. Bielgorod, on the Donetz.
13. Korotcha, on the rivulet of that name, falling into the Donetz.

14. Novoi Oſkol, on the Oſkol.
15. Staroi Oſkol, on a river of that name.

XXIX. Government of Novogorod Severſkoi,

Part of the Ukraine, or Little Ruſſia,

CONTAINS 11 DISTRICTS.

1. Novogorod Severſkoi, on the right ſhore of the Deſna.
2. Pogar, on the Sudoſh, falling into the Deſna.
3. Mglin, on a rivulet falling into the Ipul.
4. Starodub, on a rivulet falling into the Sudoſh.
5. Soſnitza, on the Deſna.
6. Korop, on the left ſhore of the ſame river.
7. Korolevetz, on a rivulet falling into the Deſna.
8. Glukhof, on the river Yeſma, falling into the Seim.
9. Konotop, on a rivulet falling into the Seim.
10. Suraſh, or Suraſhſk, on the Ipul.
11. Novomeſhſk, on the ſame river.

XXX. Government of Tchernigof,

Formerly part of the Ukraine,

CONTAINS 11 DISTRICTS.

1. Tchernigof, on the right ſhore of the Deſna.
2. Bereſna, or Bereſin, on the Deſna.
3. Gorodnizk, on a rivulet falling into the Snof, which joins the Soſna.
4. Neſhin, on the Oſter, falling into the Deſna.
5. Romen, or Romna, on the river Sula.
6. Glinſk, on the ſame river.
7. Priluki, on the Udai, falling into the Sula.
8. Borſna, on a rivulet of the ſame, falling into the Deſna.
9. Lokhvitza, on the river Sula.
10. Gaditch, on the Pſol.
11. Senkof, on a rivulet falling into the Pſol.

XXXI. Government of Kiof,

Being part of the Ukraine, or Little Ruſſia, was once a duchy belonging to the great dukes, and Kiof, the capital, was their principal reſidence. This country was conquered by the Tartars, came again into the poſſeſſion of the great dukes, but was over-ran and poſſeſſed by the Coſſacks, under the protection of Poland.

In 1654, the natives, diſcontented with John Caſimir, king of Poland, ſubmitted to Ruſſia, and have ever ſince continued ſubject to that empire. The vaſt privileges enjoyed by the natives have been gradually aboliſhed, and they are now reduced to the ſame ſtate as the other provinces of the Ruſſian empire.

CONTAINS 11 DISTRICTS.

1. Kiof, on the Dnieper.
2. Oſter, on the Deſna.
3. Koſelatz, on the Oſter.
4. Piriatin, on the Udai.
5. Periaſlaf, on the Trubeſh, falling into the Dnieper.
6. Solotonok, on a rivulet of the ſame name, falling into the Dnieper.
7. Lubny, on the river Sula.
8. Khorol, on the river of the ſame name, falling into the Pſol.
9. Mirgorod, on the ſame river.
10. Goltva, on the Pſol.
11. Goroditche, on the Dnieper.

XXXII. Government of Kharkof,

Formerly compriſed in the government of Ukrania Slovodſkaia,

CONTAINS 15 DISTRICTS.

1. Kharkof, on the Uda, falling into the Donetz.
2. Tchuguief, on the Donetz.

3. Iſium, on the ſame river.
4. Woltchanſk, on a rivulet falling into the Donetz.
5. Solatchef, on the Uda.
6. Walki, on a rivulet falling into the Donetz.
7. Bogodukhof, on the Merlo, falling into the Vorſkla.
8. Krafnokutſk, on the ſame river.
9. Akhtyrka, on the rivulet Akhtyrka, falling into the left ſhore of the Worſkla.
10. Khotmyſk, on the Vorſkla.
11. Lebedin, on a rivulet Olchanka, falling into the Pſol.
12. Sumy, on the right ſhore of the Pſol.
13. Miropolie, on the ſame river.
14. Nedrigailof, on the river Sula.
15. Bielopolie, on a rivulet falling into the Seim.

XXXIII. Government of Catherinenſlaf, or Ecaterrinenſlaf.

This government contains the greateſt part of that territory which was wreſted by the preſent empreſs from the Turks, and compriſes New Ruſſia, the former government of Azof, and Crim Tartary.

It is divided into two provinces of Catherinenſlaf and Taurida.

Province of Catherinenſlaf,

CONTAINS 14 DISTRICTS.

1. Catherinenſlaf, on the Dnieper.
2. Poltava, on the Vorſkla.
3. Krementchuk, on the Dnieper.
4. Eliſabethgrad, on the Ingul, falling into the Bog.
5. Alexandria, on the Inguletz, falling into the Dnieper.
6. Kherſon, on the Dnieper, about 14 verſts below the mouth of the Inguletz.
7. Stavenſk, on the Dnieper.
8. Novomoſkorſk, on the Dnieper.
9. Pavlograd,

9. Pavlograd, on a river falling into the Dnieper.
10. Mariupal, on a river near the ſea of Azof.
11. Bakhmuh, on the river of that name, falling into the Donetz.
12. Donetzk, on the river Donetz.
13. Conſtantinograd, on the Orel, falling into the Dnieper.
14. Alexopolſk, on the ſame river.

Province of Taurida, or Crim Tartary.

This fertile peninſula, the great mart of commerce in the Black Sea, was colonized for the purpoſes of trade by the Greeks, Romans, Genoeſe, occupied by the Turks under Mahomet the Second, and governed by the Khan of the Tartars, a vaſſal to the Porte. On the peace of Kainardi, in 1774, it was declared an independent ſovereignty, taken poſſeſſion of by Catharine II. on the abdication of the Khan Sahim Gerai, in 1783, and confirmed to Ruſſia by the Porte in the ſame year by the treaty of Conſtantinople. The empreſs has revived ſeveral of the ancient Greek names.

CONTAINS 7 DISTRICTS.

1. Levkopol, formerly Achmet-ſchitt.
2. Synpheropol, formerly Eſki Krim, i. e. Old Crimea.
3. Eupatoria, formerly Koſlof, or Goſleve.
4. Perekop.
5. Phanagoria, on the iſland of Taman.
6. Dneprovſk, on the Dnieper.
7. Melotopol, on the river Melotchnie.

XXXIV. Government of Caucaſus.

Divided into two provinces, Aſtracan and Caucaſus, but not yet ſubdivided into diſtricts.

Aſtracan was conquered from the Tartars, in 1552, by Ivan Vaſſilievitch.

Province of Caucaſus,

Will compriſe the Cuban, and all that diſtrict to the eaſt and ſouth, now in the poſſeſſion of Ruſſia, between the rivers Don and Cuban, and between the Caſpian and the Euxine, extending as far as the confines of Georgia, and continually augmenting by the reduction and ſubmiſſion of the wandering hordes of Mount Caucaſus.

XXXV. Government of Saratof,

Formerly a province of Aſtracan,

CONTAINS 11 DISTRICTS.

1. Saratof, on the Volga.
2. Volſk, on the ſame river.
3. Khvalynſk, on the ſame river.
4. Kuſnetzk, on a rivulet falling into the Sura.
5. Serdobſk, on the river Serdoba, falling into the Khoper.
6. Petroffk, on the Medveditza.
7. Atkar, or Atkarſk, on the river Atkara, falling into the Medreditza.
8. Balakef, on the river Khoper.
9. Khoperſk, formerly Novokhoperſk, on the ſame river.
10. Kamychin, called formerly Dmitreffk, on the right ſide of the Volga.
11. Tzaritzyn, on the Volga.

XXXVI. Government of Ufa.

Formerly included in the government of Orenburgh, is divided into two provinces, Ufa and Orenburgh.

Province of Ufa,

CONTAINS 9 DISTRICTS.

1. Ufa, on the right ſide of the Bielaia, a few verſts beneath the mouth of the river Ufa.
2. Birſk,

2. Birſk, on the river Bielaia.
3. Menſelinſk, on the river Menſel, falling into the Ik.
4. Bugulm, or Bugulminſk, on the Bugulm, a rivulet falling into the Ik.
5. Bogoroſtan, on a river falling into the Samara.
6. Belebeief, on a rivulet falling into the Diema, whic flows into the Bielaia.
7. Sterlitamak, on the ſmall river Sterlia, falling into the Bielaia.
8. Ichalyabinſk, on the river Mijap.
9. Troitzk, on the river Ui.

Province of Orenburgh,

CONTAINS 4 DISTRICTS.

1. Orenburgh, on the Ural, formerly the Yaik.
2. Verkhouralſk, on the Ural.
3. Buſulutzk, on the Samara, near the river Buſuluk.
4. Sergieffk, on the river Samara.

XXXVII. Government of Viatka,

Formerly a province of Caſan,

CONTAINS 13 DISTRICTS.

1. Viatka, formerly Khlynof, on the Viatka
2. Slobodſk, on the Viatka.
3. Katelnitch, on the Viatka.
4. Orlof, on the Viatka.
5. Faranſk, on a rivulet falling into the Viatka.
6. Nolinſk, on the Voia, falling into the Viatka.
7. Glaſof, on a river falling into the Viatka.
8. Urſhum, on the Viatka.
9. Malmych, on the ſame river.
10. Tzarevoſantchurſk, on the river Kokchaia, falling into the Volga.
11. Sarapul, on the Kama.
12. Felabug, on the ſame river.
13. Kai, on the ſame river.

XXXVIII. Government of Perm,

Formerly a province of Caſan,

Contains Two provinces.

A. Province of Perm. B. Province of Catharinenburgh.

CONTAINS 8 DISTRICTS.

1. Perm, on the Kama, where the river Zegochekha falls into it.
2. Solkamiſk, on the ſmall river Uſſolka, falling into the Kama.
3. Tcherdyn, on the river Kolva, falling into the Victera.
4. Obvin, on the Kamaſk, near the mouth of the Obva.
5. Okhanſk, or Akhanſk, on the Kama.
6. Oſſa, on the left ſhore of the Kama, where it receives the rivulet Oſſinka.
7. Kraſnoufimſk, on the Ufa.
8. Kungur, on the river Sylva.

B. Province of Catharinenburgh, or Echaterinenburgh,

Formerly included in the government of Tobolſk,

CONTAINS 7 DISTRICTS.

1. Catharinenburgh, on the river Iſſet, not far from its origin.
2. Schadrinsk, on the left ſhore of the Iſſet.
3. Dolmatof, on the left ſhore of the Iſſet.
4. Kamychloffk, on the river Pychma.
5. Irbitz, on the ſmall river Irbit, falling into the Nitza.
6. Alapaieffk, on the ſmall river Alapeikha, falling into the Neiva.
7. Verkhoturie, on the Tura.

XXXIX. Government of Tobolſk,

Comprehends the weſtern part of Siberia, the conqueſt of which country, began by Yermac Timofeef, in 1579, during

during the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. was finally concluded before the death of Feodor Ivanovitch, in 1598.

It is divided into the two provinces of Tobolſk and Tomſk.

Province of Tobolſk,

CONTAINS 10 DISTRICTS.

1. Tobolſk, on the Irtyſh, oppoſite to the mouth of the Tobol.
2. Tiumen, on the Tura.
3. Turinſk, on the Tura.
4. Bereſof on the Soſſva, falling into the Ob.
5. Surgut, on the Oby.
6. Tara, on the Irtyſh.
7. Yalutoroffk, on the Tobol.
8. Kurgan, on the river Kurgan.
9. Ichimſk, on the river Ichim.
10. Omſk, on the Irtyſh, near the mouth of the Om.

Province of Tomſk,

CONTAINS 6 DISTRICTS.

1. Tomſk, on the river Tom.
2. Kainſk, on the river Om.
3. Narym, on the Oby, below the mouth of the Ker
4. Magaſeia, or Turukhansk, on the Yeniſei.
5. Yeniſeiſk, on the river Yeniſei.
6. Atchinſk, on the river Tchulym, falling into the Ob.

XL. Government of Kolyvan,

Formerly included in the government of Tobolſk,

CONTAINS 5 DISTRICTS.

1. Kolyvan, the new capital of this government, on the Oby, near the mouth of the Berda, known before the inſtitution of this Government under the name of *Berdſkoi Oſtrog*.

2. Semipalat,

2. Semipalat, on the Irtyſh.
3. Biiſk, on the river Bi, or Biia, which, by uniting with the Katunia, forms the river Oby.
4. Kuſnezk, on the river Tom, oppoſite to the mouth of the Kondoma.
5. Kraſſnoiarſk, on the Yeniſei, where it receives the Katcha.

XLI. Government of Irkutzk,

The largeſt and leaſt peopled government in Ruſſia, compriſes all the eaſtern part of Siberia, from the Northern Ocean to the frontiers of Chineſe Tartary, and from the boundaries of the government of Tobolſk to the Eaſtern Ocean. This large territory was gradually conquered and appropriated by the Ruſſians in their deſultory excurſions from Tobolſk.

It is divided into the four provinces of Irkutzk, Nertſhinſk, Yakutſk, and Okotzk.

Province of Irkutzk,

CONTAINS 4 DISTRICTS.

1. Irkutzk, on the Angara, oppoſite to the mouth of the river Irkut.
2. Kirenſk, on the Lena, above the mouth of the Kirenga.
3. Niſhnie-Udinſk, on the river Uda, falling into the Upper Tunguſka.
4. Verſhnei-Vedinſk, on the river Vecla, falling into the Selenga.

Province of Nertchinſk,

CONTAINS 4 DISTRICTS.

1. Nertchinſk, on the Nertcha, falling into the Schilka.
2. Doroninſk, on the Ingoda.

3. Barguſinſk,

3. Barguſinſk, on the river Barguſin, falling into the lake Baikal.
4. Stretinſk, on the Schilka.

Province of Yakutſk,

CONTAINS 5 DISTRICTS.

1. Yakutſk, on the Lena.
2. Olekminſk, on the Lena, ſeveral verſts above the mouth of the Olekma.
3. Olenſk, a town to be erected on the river Olenek.
4. Schiganſk, on the Lena, about 800 verſts from Yakuzk.
5. Sachiverſk, on the Indigirka.

Province of Okotzk,

CONTAINS 4 DISTRICTS.

1. Okotzk, on the mouth of the Okota, falling into a bay of the Eaſtern Ocean.
2. Ichiginſk, on the mouth of the river Ichigina, falling into the bay of Penſhina.
3. Aklanſk, on the ſmall river Aklan, falling into the river Penſhina.
4. Niſhnie-Kamtchatka, on the river Kamtchatka, about 30 verſts from its mouth.

No. 4.

SINCE this volume was printed, the Reverend Mr. Smirnove, chaplain to the Ruſſian legation in London, has publiſhed a *Survey of the Ruſſian Empire*; which enumerates the governments as in 1792, and differs in a few inſtances from the geographical diviſions formed in 1782 and 1785, which are given in this volume.

The Ruſſian empire is divided into

I. The Northern Region.
II. The Middle Region.
III. The Southern Region.

I. The Northern Region contains the following Governments:

1. St. Peterſburg.
2. Archangel.
3. Olonetz.
4. Vyborg, or Wyburgh.
5. Revel.
6. Riga.
7. Pſcov.
8. Tver.
9. Novogorod.
10. Vologda.
11. Yaroſlavl.
12. Koſtroma.
13. Viatka.
14. Pirme.
15. Tobolſk.

II. The

II. The Middle Region contains:

16. Muſcov.
17. Smolenſk.
18. Polotſk.
19. Moghilev.
20. Tichernigov.
21. Novgorod Sieverſkoi.
22. Kharkov.
23. Kourſk.
24. Orel.
25. Kalouga.
26. Toola.
27. Riazane.
28. Vladimir.
29. Nizney Novgorod.
30. Kazane,
31. Sinbirſk.
32. Penza.
33. Tambov.
34. Voronez.
35. Saratov.
36. Oufa.
    The hordes of Kirghis kaiſacks.
37. Kolhyvane
38. Irkoutſk.
    The Kourilſkie iſlands.
    The Aleoutiſke iſlands.

III. The Southern Region contains:

39. Kiev.
40. Ekatherinoſlav.
41. The province of Tavrida.
42. Habitations of the Don Kozaks.
43. The government of Caucaſus.

Many

Many of the new territorial acquifitions made by Catharine the Second, were not formed into regular governments at her death. Thefe acquifitions confifted of the diftrict of Otchakof, thofe parts of Poland which were difmembered by Ruffia 1793 and 1795, and Courland.

Paul made fome alterations in the governments, and particularly changed the name of Ekatherinoflav into New Ruffia, from antipathy to his mother. He likewife made feveral changes in the laws and adminiftration, which have been fince abrogated by the prefent Emperor, and the whole empire is again modelled according to the ordinances of Catharine.

No. 5.

ANECDOTES OF PRINCE POTEMKIN.

I AVAIL myſelf of this new Edition, to give ſome anecdotes of this extraordinary man, who governed Ruſſia with no leſs deſpotic authority than Menchikof or Biron. Theſe anecdotes I collected in the courſe of my travels in Ruſſia; but withheld them from the public, during the lives of the Empreſs and Potemkin.

GREGORY ALEXANDROVITCH POTEMKIN, was deſcended from an antient and noble family, ſeated in the province of Smolenſko; at an early period he entered into the army, and, at the revolution, diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the partiſans of the empreſs. He ſignalized himſelf under marſhal Romanzof, in his campaign againſt the Turks, and was deputed by count Peter Panin, to deliver the keys of Bender to the empreſs, when it capitulated to the Ruſſians in 1770. Before this period, Potemkin affected a violent paſſion for the empreſs, and in the private audience, when he preſented the keys, made a declaration of his attachment, with ſuch warm expreſſions, and wild geſtures, as ſeemed to indicate that love had deranged his intellects. Catharine at this time faſcinated by Orlof, was not touched by theſe marks of paſſion, though ſhe overlooked and forgave them; yet they operated to his advantage, when Potemkin was afterwards introduced as a favourite by Alexey Orlof, after the diſmiſſion of his brother, with a view to counteract the cabals of Panin and Romanzof.

Romanzof. Potemkin continued to occupy that poſt only fifteen months. He received the uſual order to abſent himſelf from court; but ſoon afterwards contrived to regain his political influence, though he was compelled to yield to a new favourite.

From that period, he maintained an aſcendancy over the counſels of the empreſs, and at his will, introduced and dimiſſed the ſucceſſive favourites. During the favour of count Panin, the power of Potemkin was counterbalanced by his influence, but, on his diſgrace, roſe ſuperior to all controul.

He was perfectly acquainted with the temper and diſpoſition of the empreſs. In his intercourſe, he affected to indulge a great ſpirit of independence, returned only laconic anſwers to pages written with her own hand, and governed her, no leſs by remonſtrating againſt her weakneſſes, than by adminiſtering to her paſſions. He gave a ſtriking proof of this ſpirit on the death of Lanſkoi. The empreſs was ſo affected with the loſs of this favourite, that ſhe ſunk, like Elizabeth, on the death of Eſſex, into a ſtate of deſpondency. She ſhut herſelf up in her apartment, admitted ſcarcely any one into her preſence but the ſiſter of Lanſkoi, and fed her melancholy, by viſiting the tomb which ſhe had erected to his memory. All buſineſs was ſuſpended. At this criſis Potemkin arrived from the Crimea, and remonſtrated againſt her weakneſs, in ſuch ſtrong terms, that ſhe burſt into tears, and complained to Lanſkoi's ſiſter of his harſh and unfeeling conduct. His importunities, however, finally prevailed; and one evening ſhe ſuddenly quitted Zarſkoe Zelo, and repaired to the capital, where her grief gradually ſubſided. Catharine never forgot Potemkin's frankneſs; ſhe frequently declared her obligations to him, who alone ventured to rouſe her from her deſpondency; loaded him with higher honours, and repoſed in him additional confidence.

His

His honours, titles, and employments, exceeded in number and diſtinction thoſe ever before poſſeſſed by a ſubject: to enumerate them would occupy no leſs than two or three pages, I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to his principal diſtinctions. He was dignified with all the Ruſſian orders of knighthood, and the principal orders of Pruſſia, Sweden, and Poland. He was field-marſhal, commander in chief, and inſpector-general of all the Ruſſian forces, colonel of the Preobaſhinſki guards, and of three regiments of cuiraſſiers, grenadiers, and dragoons, and preſident of the college of war. He was grand admiral of the Euxine and Caſpian, grand hetman of the Coſſacs, and governor-general of the provinces of Ekatharineſlaf and Taurida. He was alſo created a prince of the German empire.

His revenues were adequate to his dignities. He received during his time of favour large eſtates, and 9,000,000 roubles in money; he was lord over 40,000 peaſants in Poliſh Ruſſia, and 5,000 in Ruſſia; he had a penſion of 75,000 roubles, and 30,000 for his table. Being conſiderably in debt by loſſes at play, he took an advance of his penſion for ten years; but was gratified by the empreſs with the continuance of his ſalary.

Yet this unparalleled income was not adequate to his unbounded expences. During his campaigns, his march was conſtantly preceded by an Engliſh gardener, and ſix hundred helpers; they formed a garden in our ſtyle, in the environs of the ſpot where the tent of the prince was pitched, even if he continued only a day. Walks of ſand or gravel were laid out, and decorated with borders of flowers; trees and ſhrubs of all ſorts and ſizes were tranſplanted; and ornamental buildings imitated by temporary wooden ſtructures; if his ſtay was protracted the withered trees were removed, and repleniſhed with freſh plantations. If the adjacent country produced no wood,

ſhrubs and limbs of foreſt trees were conveyed from a conſiderable diſtance. He purchaſed an enormous quantity of diamonds, with which he not only ornamented his dreſs; but frequently amuſed himſelf with arranging them in various figures, and toſſing them with a childiſh ſatisfaction from one hand to the other. He laviſhed immenſe ſums on his numerous miſtreſſes, and expended ſtill more in buildings, which he never inhabited, or never uſed but for the purpoſe of giving magnificent fêtes.

One of theſe galas, which he gave on his return from the conqueſt of Crim Tartary, in his Taurian palace, is minutely deſcribed in a foreign publication, which is copied verbatim by the French biographer of Catharine the Second, and literally tranſlated in the Engliſh verſion *. The deſcription of this fête ſeems to realiſe the extravagancies of an oriental tale.

To ſupply theſe expences, and gratify his paſſion for amaſſing riches, he drew upon the treaſury for ſums to an unlimited amount; and none of his drafts were ever rejected.

He died at the cloſe of the ſucceſsful campaign againſt the Turks, and during the negotiations for peace. He had been ſome time ſlightly indiſpoſed, and preſaged his approaching death. At the congreſs of Yaſſy, he was attacked by an epidemical diſtemper, which he increaſed by every ſpecies of exceſs and intemperance; in his journey from Yaſſy to Nicolaief, his fever roſe to a criſis, he was ſeized with a violent cholic, alighted from his carriage, and throwing himſelf on the ground, expired in convulſions. The empreſs was at firſt much affected with his death; but ſoon recovered, and ſeemed pleaſed with her emancipation from his influence.

* Almanach hiſtorique et genealogique de Berlin pour l'année 1790. Caſtera's Vie de Catharine II. and Tooke's Life of Catharine II.

Potemkin

Potemkin was clumſy in his perſon, but of herculean ſize and ſtrength. A defect in his eye, rendered his countenance lowering and forbidding; and his firſt addreſs was not only aukward and embarraſſed, but even timid and diſtant. In mixed companies and with ſtrangers, he was ſilent and reſerved; but with thoſe with whom he was intimate, he was affable, cheerful, and indulged himſelf in mimicry and ſarcaſtic raillery, in which he excelled. In routs, balls, and large ſocieties, he was frequently ſeen ſtanding iſolated from the company, abſorbed in thought; the involuntary geſtures of his body, marked the reſtleſsneſs of his diſpoſition, and the agitation of his mind, which ſeemed labouring with vaſt projects. In fact he was ſatiated with pleaſures, and miſerable becauſe he had no enjóyment left to deſire, and every thing to apprehend.

He was not ſatisfied with his high honours and exalted ſtation; but was perpetually forming ſchemes of diſtinction and aggrandiſement. He was ſolicitous to obtain the order of the garter, and felt extremely diſappointed that his application did not ſucceed. Through his influence, however, a treaty was negotiating between Great Britain and Ruſſia, by which Minorca was to be ceded to the empreſs; and the whole artillery and ſtores, which were worth near a million ſterling, were to be yielded as a gratification to prince Potemkin. In return, the empreſs was to ſend ſeveral ſhips of the line to the aſſiſtance of England. This negotiation was interrupted by the capture of Minorca. At one time he aſpired, at the inſtigation of the court of Verſailles, to be hoſpodar of Moldavia and Wallachia; at another, by the ſuggeſtions of the king of Pruſſia, to become duke of Courland; and by the Houſe of Auſtria, he was perſuaded to aſpire to the throne of Poland. All theſe ſchemes, rapidly ſucceeding each other, kept him in a continual ſtate of reſtleſs agitation.

He was extremely attached to religious ceremonies,

particularly to the pomp of the Greek church, and was well verſed in eccleſiaſtical matters. Whenever diſcontented with the court, or vexed with the cabals againſt him, he expreſſed an intention to retire, and affected an inclination to become a monk.

The room in which he received company was next to his bed-chamber, contained a billiard-table, and was uſually crowded by perſons of all ranks and nations. I have ſeen at the ſame time the principal miniſters and generals, noblemen of the higheſt diſtinction, artiſts and mechanics; Engliſh, French, Germans, Swedes, Danes, Perſians, Georgians, Turks, Calmucs, and Tartars. Cheſs-boards and back-gammon tables were ſcattered about the room, and the company engaged in different games, as their fancy ſuggeſted. He uſually dined at three, then retired into his bed-chamber, to take his afternoon nap, and when he awoke, made his appearance in this room where the company was aſſembled, ſometimes full dreſſed, at other times in his robe de chambre, and ſlippers, and occaſionally even without ſtockings. He amuſed himſelf by overlooking thoſe who were playing, or in talking with the company, principally with foreigners or artiſts.

He treated the Ruſſian nobles with great haughtineſs; but was attentive and even affable to foreigners, when his firſt reſerve was worn off. In his own houſehold he was kind to his ſervants, and would not ſuffer them to be beaten, according to the cuſtom of the country, though he was aware that he was the worſe ſerved for this mild treatment.

He was ſingularly voracious, as well as capricious in his appetite. Beſides his uſual meals, in which he devoured indiſcriminately the moſt common as well as the moſt coſtly diſhes, he was continually eating ſmall pâtés and biſcuits, of which he had a conſtant ſupply placed even at his bed-ſide.

Dining

Dining one day at baron Sutherland's, court banker, and a member of the Engliſh factory, he was ſo much pleaſed with a round of beef, that he deſired the remainder, with the pewter diſh, and carving knife and fork, might be ſent to his apartments in the palace. It was regularly ſerved at his table, and placed on a ſideboard in the antichamber, until it was eaten. The prince applied to it himſelf, ſeveral times in the courſe of the day, and preſſed thoſe who viſited him to partake of the Engliſh fare.

He was by nature and habit extremely indolent, and often neglected the moſt important buſineſs; but when rouſed to exertion, his activity was as remarkable as his ſupineneſs. He ſometimes ſtarted from his luxurious life at Peterſburgh, and with ſcarcely a moment's notice, travelled like a courier, night and day, in a common kibitka; in theſe journies he adopted the food of the Ruſſian peaſants, particularly the black-bread, garlic, and ſalted cucumbers, until he reached the place of his deſtination, when he re-aſſumed his cuſtomary mode of living.

He was fond of wild and expenſive ſchemes, and was always ſurrounded with projectors, who continually duped and deceived him.

A proof of his ſingular and whimſical diſpoſition in the conduct of the moſt important affairs, was communicated by a perſon preſent at the following ſcene. Sitting after dinner at Karakrim, or Old Crim, in company with ſeveral gentlemen, both Ruſſians and Engliſh, Potemkin ſaid, "let us ballot for the capital of Crim Tartary." Taking up a roſe, he laid a leaf in one place, and a ſecond in another, exclaiming "let this be for Achmetſchit, and that for Batcheſerai; let every one put a leaf near that to which he gives the preference, without alleging a reaſon." All did ſo, and the prince, counting the leaves, found the majority for Achmetſchit,

metſchit, and he ſaid, "let Achmetſchit be the capital," and it became the capital.

He warmly encouraged commerce and manufactures, was the great patron of learning, and particularly promoted Greek literature. He poſſeſſed a quick comprehenſion, and ſurpriſing memory; his knowledge of books was general, though ſuperficial; his reading was principally confined to the French belles lettres, and tranſlations of the claſſics, particularly Plutarch, and to Ruſſian authors on religious ceremonies; but the information which he drew from perſons of eminence in every profeſſion was prodigious.

A well-drawn character of this extraordinary man by M. de Segur, French embaſſador at Peterſburgh, is given in Caſtera's Vie de Catherine II. 1ſt edition, and in Tooke's tranſlation, vol. III. p. 326.

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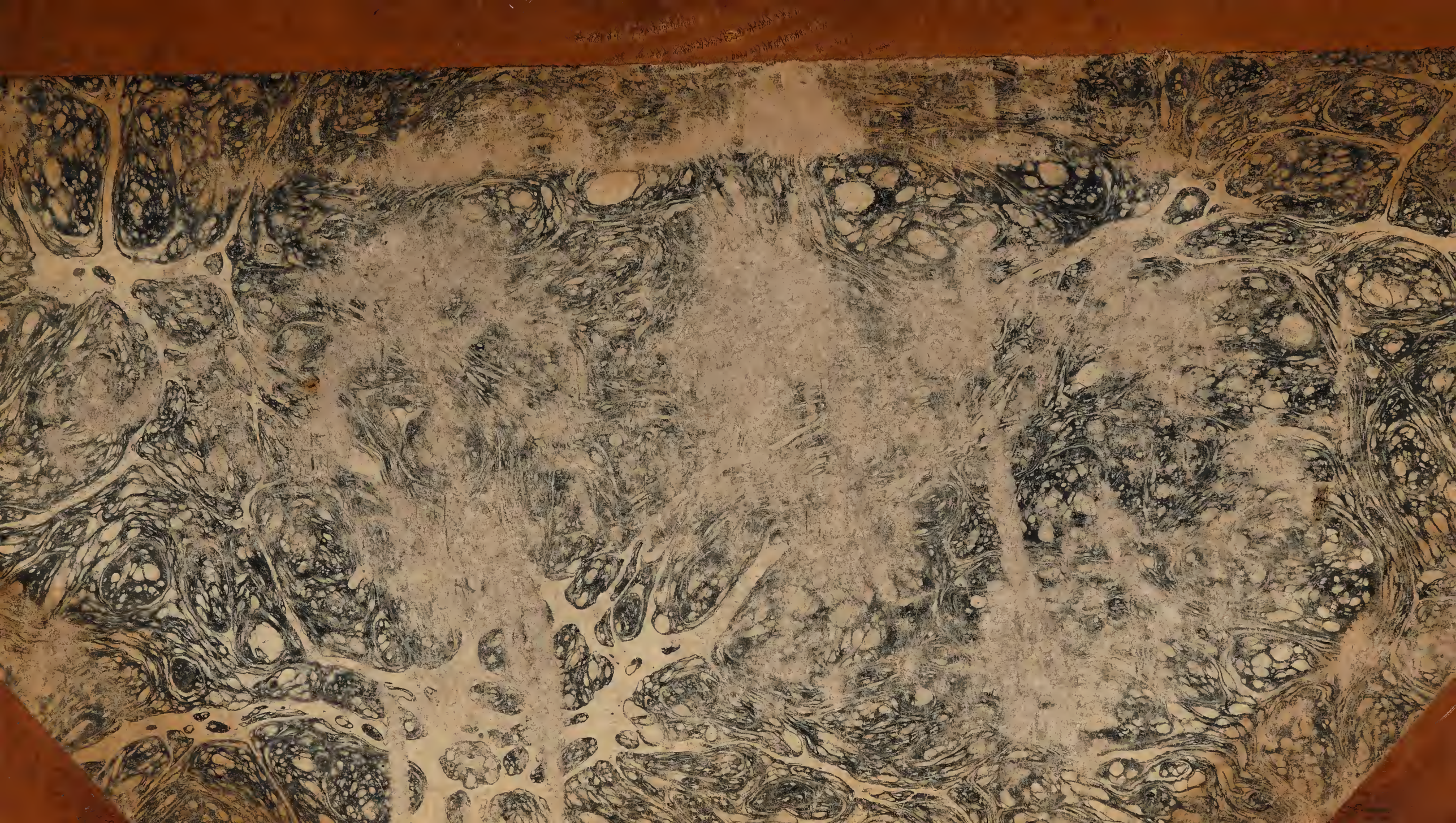
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